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REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

VOL. XIX

REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

EDITED BY
GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A.
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

H. H. LANGTON, M.A.
LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

W. STEWART WALLACE, M.A.
LECTURER IN HISTORY IN MCMASTER UNIVERSITY, TORONTO

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REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

1. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

The Pan-Angles: a Consideration of the Federation of the seven English-speaking Nations. By Sinclair Kennedy. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1914. Pp. ix, 244.

The ominous significance in these days of Pan-Germanism will arouse in the reader of Mr. Kennedy's book prejudice against Pan-Anglicism. Yet the writer, a citizen of the United States, urges his case with moderation. He emphasizes the common features of civilized life in English-speaking communities, noticeably self-government and individual liberty. But he is careful to avoid asserting the superiority of Pan-Angles over other races. The Pan-Angles merely have certain things in common, and certain territorial interests which if united they could more easily defend against possible dangers. Moreover, and the argument is an important one, if the United States and the communities of the British Empire were united under a common government, the chances of war ensuing between any of these partners in their present situation would be greatly reduced. The writer is nothing daunted by the difficulties in his path. He insists that federation is a British invention, well adapted to preserve local liberties while allowing a central government sufficient authority. He notices with favour those schemes, especially Franklin's, which would have effected a union of English-speaking peoples. He recognizes that tendencies towards complete autonomy are always to be found in British communities. Indeed, the separate existence of the United States is the most conspicuous outcome of this localism. Yet he is not discouraged, believing that the smallness of the world and the other great forces in it will bring the Pan-Angles together, and will lead them to

2 EGERTON: THE WAR AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

see that the extremes of over-centralization and of over-independence are both to be avoided, that safety lies between them in a course which at once maintains common strength and local liberty. Much of this argument is sound. Yet the writer seems so influenced by it as to minimize unduly, if not altogether to ignore, the element in his country which would make such a plan difficult of accomplishment. The Pan-Germans of the United States will not readily be converted into Pan-Angles.

The War and the British Dominions. By H. E. Egerton. (Oxford Pamphlets, No. 21.) Oxford University Press. 1914. Pp. 23.

Is the British Empire the Result of Wholesale Robbery? By H. E. Egerton. (Oxford Pamphlets, No. 23.) Oxford University Press. 1914. Pp. 28.

Professor Egerton's first pamphlet is an attempt to analyze the character of the common cause which has effected such a striking unity of sentiment and action in the British Empire. Only a few years ago some Canadians were urging their countrymen not to undertake obligations or responsibilities beyond the borders of Canada. Yet the highest interests of Canada are secured by her participation in the present struggle. Indeed, as Professor Egerton is careful to observe, communities like the British Dominions and the United States living under written constitutions must not fail to repudiate the "scrap of paper" doctrine, which if applied amongst them would mean anarchy. Liberty is also at stake. Germany would crush out small nationalities both within and outside her borders. Professor Delbrück's amazing justification of Austria's attack on Serbia shows what the German doctrine would be on this point.* On the other hand, the British Empire has succeeded in including very divergent racial types and in reconciling them to the existence of a common government. The French in Canada and the Boers in South Africa have been treated

*See *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1915, p. 234.

generously by the imperial authorities. They have not undergone any process akin to Prussianization. Thus a complex and diversified society like the British Empire is united in the present instance to maintain its own existence and all the most precious rights of humanity.

Professor Egerton in his second paper brings all his great learning to show that the British Empire was a natural and on the whole a proper growth and not the result of wholesale robbery as charged by the Germans. The British people, because their country was small and surrounded by the sea, pushed out into the new world seeking trade and making settlements, usually at points not already occupied by other Europeans. The rivalry with Holland was commercial, and was carried on with at least as much violence on the part of the Dutch as on that of their opponents. The occupation of New Netherland was the only inexcusable departure from prevailing standards, and there the good rule of the English partly at least atoned for the seizure of the territory. When France entered the field, the competition assumed greater proportions. It arose in part from the meeting of traders and soldiers representing the two states (in America and in India), and in part from the continental ambitions of Louis XIV, and later of the Revolution and of Napoleon. On the whole France was the aggressor. Even in the hour of victory, as can be seen from the treaties of 1713, 1763, and 1815, Great Britain showed moderation. The fishing rights of France in Newfoundland waters are an instance. The charge of wholesale robbery, if directed against British rule in India, can be corrected by an examination of the long process by which sovereignty in India was acquired, and of the fruits of the experiment. Nothing is clearer than that English traders during the seventeenth century shrank from occupying Indian territory. Establishments in India were "the beggaring of the Portugal", as Sir Thomas Roe said, and an encumbrance also to the Dutch. However, the fall of the Mogul Empire which had maintained order in India and the ambitious competition of France necessitated a change in British policy. Posts

were fortified, relations were established with neighbouring chiefs, the company itself became an Indian principality. Once the beginning was made, an extension of influence proved inevitable. British rule has justified itself, as the splendid contribution of India in the present war amply demonstrates. The native states have been as far as possible preserved, and people everywhere have enjoyed civil and religious liberty.

The Kingdom Papers, Nos. 17-19. By John S. Ewart. Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott. [1914.] Pp. 193-241.

The Dominions and the Command of the Sea. By Archibald Hurd. (The Fortnightly Review, August, 1914, pp. 242-254.)

The Defence of Canada, in the Light of Canadian History. By Christopher West. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1914. Pp. 16.

What will become of Canada? By Charles Stephenson Smith. (The Forum, June, 1914, pp. 855-865.)

Mr. Ewart continues to argue in his *Kingdom Papers* that history has made Canada a nation in fact, and that she should now recognize herself and be recognized as a nation in theory. The theory of Canadian inclusion in an imperial system possessing a central government has been destroyed by the growth of Canadian autonomy. The method by which he arrives at this conclusion is best illustrated by the following passage: "But what about war? Are we self-governing in relation to that subject? Most certainly we are. Let me remind you of the attitude of our political leaders on several occasions." Canadian public men have certainly said at different times that Canadians were free to send troops or not to join the imperial forces. It does not follow, however, that Canadians are free to make war on their own account, or that when the Empire is at war Canada can be at peace. The truth is that when the imperial government declares war upon another power, Canada *ipso facto* is in a state of war with that power. Mr. Ewart misses this truth

altogether. If Canada were an independent nation in fact, as he claims she is, this situation would be impossible. To become an independent nation, she would have to deny the authority now exercised by the imperial government, and announce her independence to the world. Mr. Ewart may wish Canada to take this step, but that is no reason why he should come forward as an historian and a constitutional lawyer with a false account of Canada's history and of her present position. That the autonomy of the Dominion is not as complete as he contends elsewhere seems to have occurred to him when he was framing the title for his pamphlet, "Four-fifths of the last Step". At least one-fifth of the step has not been taken, and it may be the most important part.

Mr. Archibald Hurd in the *Fortnightly Review* protests strongly against the creation by the Dominions of local navies. "Ships of war are not created to look at, but to fight If the Dominions want to see their fleets, then the battle will be fought in their, and not in the enemy's waters." Naval power must be effective at the point of greatest danger. If this danger is not averted, small local navies will be helpless. Relatively before the war British naval strength was declining, and its decline was the more serious because Germany had decided to keep four-fifths of her fleet in full permanent commission. Hitherto

"under peace conditions one portion of every fleet was manned and kept more or less continuously at sea, practising the evolutions of war, and the other section was 'in ordinary', the ships being kept more or less efficient by relatively few officers and men; for war purposes reliance was placed on the services of reservists". Now "the fleet will be always mobilized, ever ready to proceed forth on a mission of war".

To meet these dangers Mr. Hurd proposes that each Dominion should retain a flotilla of a cruiser, six destroyers, and three submarines, and contribute a battle-cruiser and two scout-cruisers to an imperial squadron. This squadron might be administered and controlled by an Imperial Navy Board, on which the Dominions would be represented. The proposal is an interesting one, and it will be worth noting whether it survives a test like the present, which should

bring all the communities of the Empire much nearer to a true solution of the naval problem.

In *The Defence of Canada* the author quotes from a memorandum prepared by the Executive Council of Canada in 1865 which refused to adopt plans of the imperial government for a large militia expenditure. It pointed out that

"while fully recognizing the necessity, and while prepared to provide for such a system of defence as would restore confidence in our future at home and abroad, the best ultimate defence for British America was to be found in the increase of her population as rapidly as possible, and the husbanding of her resources to that end; and, without claiming it is a right, we venture to suggest that by enabling us to throw open the Northwest Territory to free settlement and by aiding us in enlarging our canals and prosecuting internal productive works, and by promoting an extensive plan of emigration from Europe into the unsettled portions of our domain, permanent security will be more quickly and economically achieved than by any other means".

These words have a familiar ring. They have been used again and again by Canadians to excuse a lack of military preparation which has thrown upon other shoulders the burden of defending the country. The author, however, approves of the sentiment, and thinks that the increasing expenditure for naval and military purposes shows too great a departure from the policy of 1865. That he should take this view is not surprising since he seems to believe that wars and preparations for wars are caused by the armament firms. Even "the illusory notion that it is necessary for Great Britain to be supreme on the ocean is perpetuated by the big-gun firms, the warship firms and other armament firms". If Great Britain agreed to the immunity of "peaceful private shipping in war time" then the safety of Canadian, Australian, South African and all other commerce at sea would be assured under international law. It is to be hoped that the present cataclysm will bring home to the writer the character of those disputes which divide nations, the value of the British navy, and the limitations of international law.

Mr. Charles Stephenson Smith, a citizen of the United States, who has spent some time in western Canada, remarks upon the lack of national feeling there. There is no general devotion to any national or political ideal. Great

Britain is too far away to hold popular affection. "The United States is the magnet which is attracting the residents of Western Canada away from Great Britain and the English influence of Eastern Canada". There is no hostility to Great Britain, but there is "general indifference, which will probably be worse in the final analysis". The writer concludes that Canada will eventually become a separate nation. He wrote before the great war, otherwise the enthusiasm in Canada for a cause common to the whole Empire would have led him to reverse his judgment.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

Ontario High School History of Canada. By W. L. Grant. Toronto: The T. Eaton Co. 1914. Pp. xii, 420.

To write a school history of Canada is a difficult task; and it is high praise of Professor Grant's book to say that it is probably the best of its type that has yet been written. The history of Canada touches a comparatively narrow range of subjects. The chief interest is political. There is little to be said about the development of art, of literature, of invention, for in these things a young country follows in the wake of the older civilizations. There is also little to be said about the interesting topic of foreign relations, for Canada has had no direct foreign relations. Instead there are prosaic topics. Professor Grant's book suffers because he has been obliged to include many unromantic details about constitutions and boundary disputes and settlements. It is not easy to fancy the average school-boy taking any vital interest in these things. He will, however, be interested in the early French explorers, in the adventurous crossing of the continent to the Pacific by Mackenzie, and in the explorations of Hearne and Franklin in the Arctic seas. These things have never before been covered in a text-book as completely as Professor Grant now covers them.

The book passes lightly over the French régime. This is fitting, for after all there were less than seventy thousand Europeans in Canada at the time of the British conquest. There is, however, an adequate sketch of French feudalism and of France's system of government in Canada. Passing to the British régime, we have a sharp criticism of the misgovernment of the early days. For Carleton, however, Professor Grant has high praise: he was

"a man of unstained and scrupulous honour. Colonial Governors of the time were entitled, in addition to their salary, to certain fees and perquisites. There was nothing unlawful about accepting these, and Murray had taken them. Carleton was a poor man, yet before he was two months in Canada he gave them up, saying, 'There is a certain appearance of dirt, a sort of meanness in exacting fees on every occasion. I think it necessary for the King's service that his representative at least should be thought unsullied'" (p. 130).

Professor Grant excels in character sketches. It is amusing to read that in the early rough days of Upper Canada social distinctions were very sharp:

"A barrister would not shake hands with a solicitor; a militia officer, though a shopkeeper, refused a challenge to a duel, because the man who brought it was a saddler" (p. 194).

In such a setting we can understand the rather arbitrary conduct of the Anglican Bishop Strachan of Toronto.

"His aim was to give his Church all the social and political privileges which it enjoyed in England. To him it was the King's Church, and only a member of it could be really loyal to the King. He refused to see that the circumstances in Canada were altogether different from those in England" (p. 195).

In the far east of Canada an important leader had similar objections to democracy. This was Judge Haliburton, the famous author of *The Clockmaker*. This humorous writing involved a serious purpose on the part of the author.

"In his belief, government was the function of the trained few—a matter not to be taken in hand by the masses, but only by the competent and the educated. Nothing but harm was done by the common people leaving their fields or their shops to meddle with politics. 'I guess if they'd talk more of top-dressin', an' less of re-dressin', it 'ud be better for 'em.' Responsible Government was a bubble. Let the people leave politics alone, and turn in to build the railways and bridges of which their native province was in need. 'Give up politics,' he says, 'it's a barren field, and well watered too. Look to your farms, your water-powers, your fisheries, your factories'" (p. 255).

Truly such doctrines sound strange in these democratic days, but that does not prove that they were untrue.

The line maps in the volume are excellent. *À propos* of maps, we are glad to see that Professor Grant dismisses the oft repeated charge of bad faith in regard to an old map which is made against Daniel Webster in relation to the Ashburton Treaty. His comment is that the English would have done as Webster did if they had had an opening. Perhaps the book is open to criticism for the use of fictitious portraits, such as those of Champlain and probably also of Cartier. On the other hand, there are many excellent and

authentic illustrations. The book will certainly be found most useful.

The task of the reviewer of Dr. Bryce's *Short History of the Canadian People** is made easy, for the author himself sets forth in the preface what he regards as its chief merits:

"Some of the main features for which the author has been complimented, in addition to his grasp of the subject and Canadian spirit, are (1) A just story, (2) The lists of authorities, (3) The text of the British North America Act, (4) The list of all Dominion and Provincial Governors, (5) The useful table of Canadian Annals, (6) A good Index and Map of Canada."

The "Canadian spirit" finds expression in a rather uncritical optimism, and the story itself necessarily suffers from this defect. Other merits claimed by the author may be admitted without stint. The lists of dates, the map, and the text of the British North America Act are undoubtedly rendered admirably. The defect of the list of authorities is that it is quite unsystematic and includes some things that have very little value. Dr. Bryce himself has a wide and intimate knowledge of Canadian life, especially in the West, and is qualified by his experiences and his studies to write an excellent handy volume such as this aspires to be. The first edition came out twenty-five years ago; and the work as now reproduced is, in some degree, remodelled. There are successive chapters dealing with the geography of Canada, the Indians, French colonization, the French régime, the British conquest, the Loyalist migration, the history of that part of Canada which is now Ontario, the fur trade in the West, the movement for federation. A long chapter, running to more than a hundred pages and covering the last quarter of a century, is entirely new and represents the period that has elapsed since the first edition appeared. The author has little or nothing to say of the Maritime Provinces, and almost nothing of French Canada since the conquest. His attention is really centred on the Province of Ontario and the West. Small mistakes of facts are very numerous. Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, visited Canada in 1861, not in 1860

*A *Short History of the Canadian People*. By George Bryce. Toronto: William Briggs. 1914. Pp. xiii, 621.

(p. 448). The present Lord Aberdeen is not a son, but a grandson of the former Prime Minister. Sir Allen Aylesworth was not a member of the Canadian ministry when he served in the Alaska Boundary Commission; and Sir Louis Jetté is not "Jette" (p. 507). The author's English is not always above reproach. He tells us, for instance, that Mr. Fréchette has "a fertile pen", presumably a pen of the same family as Aaron's rod which budded.

Histoire du Canada. Par les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes. Montréal. 1914. Pp. 634.

The source of this book would seem to indicate that it is intended for use in schools. If so, it is likely to prove a tough morsel for the young. The portly volume proceeds step by step through the whole history of Canada, and records practically everything that has happened to the people of French race in the country. The title of the book is a misnomer: it is not a history of Canada but a history of the French in Canada. It is pervaded by the spirit of French-Canadian nationalism and of zeal for the Roman Catholic Church. The North-West is mentioned practically only as a field for missionary effort. The eyes of the authors are fixed upon Quebec. They delight in the fact that the 70,000 French at the time of the British conquest have now become 3,000,000, scattered in the United States and Canada. The burden of the book is that these people should retain their religion, their language, and their laws. Those who oppose these designs are fanatics. Canada, "the colony of yesterday, the nation of to-day, the empire of to-morrow" (p. 590), is to be, in the hopes of the authors, predominantly a French and Catholic state. All efforts to check the unity and the advance of the French race have failed and will always fail, for God is on their side. Such is the spirit of the book, the ideal taught in many of the schools of the province of Quebec. In 1910 Sir Wilfrid Laurier said that in twenty-five years there would be 500,000 French-Canadians in the province of Ontario, that they would colonize the lands opened to

settlement by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and would hold this New Ontario. There is a similar programme for nearly every province in Canada. The propagandists of this policy, with their control of the schools, are truly formidable.

The volume is divided into the three periods of early discovery, French rule, and British rule. Half the book is given to the first two periods, though when the second had ended there were only 70,000 Europeans in Canada. The spirit of historical criticism has not touched the authors: they tell, with no misgivings, of events in "Markland" long after the European settlement had disappeared. They are not careful to find adequate authority for what they say; what, for instance, is the origin of the story that in 1775 the English at Quebec fled to the Island of Orleans and left the French to defend the city against Arnold (p. 518)? The illustrations are very poor and there are many mistakes in the text. We have, of course, the old story about Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy*. The events of the battle of Sainte Foy and of the subsequent arrival of the British fleet are distorted almost beyond recognition. Murray is made to play the chief part in the advance on Montreal. Gourlay becomes "Courley", Cayley is "Caley", Chimney Island is "Chunney Island". Louis Riel, sane in 1870, is driven insane by subsequent persecutions of the English fanatics, and so on.

On the other hand, the book has distinct merit. It gives the full background of the history of European advance in America; we have something of Columbus, of Cortes, of Pizarro, and others. The habits of the aborigines are described fully. At the end of each chapter is a "Reading" (*Lecture*) which is often eloquent, if not always of value as history. The volume is not confined to a record of events, but covers what is more important, the daily life of the people. There are repeated praises of the quiet life of the farmer as compared with the fevered life of the dweller in the city. It is wholly admirable that such a book should warn its young readers against corruptions of speech and should point out what are the chief dangers to the purity of the French

language in Canada. The authors note a certain love of literature in French Canada, and point with pride to the fact that both words and music of the admirable national song "O Canada" are of French-Canadian origin.

One feature has special interest. The book is pervaded by the spirit of the hagiology of the Middle Ages. There is a long account of Jeanne LeBer, who, like her prototypes of the Middle Ages, was beautiful and rich but naturally frail and delicate, and showed at an early age a precocious piety. At the age of seventeen she entered a convent and spent most of her life in a little cell behind the high altar of the Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec. When not at prayer she worked upon furnishings for the altar or for the poor. She never spoke except to the priest and confessed through a grille. She died in 1714 after twenty years of solitude.

The book contains almost no reference to authorities. Obviously these are, in nearly all cases, secondary.

It is pleasant to find in a book written by a foreigner the insight shown by Professor Arthur Lyon Cross, of the University of Michigan, in his *History of England and Greater Britain*.^{*} It is true that Greater Britain occupies a minor place in the story, for the author is chiefly occupied with the play of political forces in the mother land. In all, less than a dozen pages are given to Canada, but Mr. Cross is very much up-to-date, for his work includes the latest phases of the naval controversy in Canada. It shows how hard it is to kill a tradition that Mr. Cross should repeat the discredited account of Wolfe's gasconade in boasting with sword drawn of what he should do in Canada. We have also the other discredited story about Wolfe's repeating Gray's *Elegy* as he was rowed to the foot of the cliffs upon which he was to find death and glory. The war of 1812 is dismissed in a paragraph.

^{*}*A History of England and Greater Britain.* By Arthur Lyon Cross. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xiv, 1165.

In *Decisive Episodes in Western History*,* Mr. Laenas G. Weld has given a brief sketch of some of the decisive steps which determined the possession of the hinterland between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The episodes include the conflict of Champlain with the Iroquois, French expansion westward by the St. Lawrence and both up and down the Mississippi, the beginnings of the conflict between the French and the British in the Ohio valley and the expedition of George Rogers Clark during the Revolutionary War. With such a range it is inevitable that the treatment should be slight and inconclusive, with a tendency to exaggerate the importance of isolated incidents. Champlain's plans of discovery and the resulting necessity of an alliance with the Indians who controlled the waterways towards the west may be said to have determined the policy against the hostile Iroquois; if this is true the little skirmish on Lake Champlain was scarcely "one of the really decisive battles of American history". "The capture of Vincennes," says Mr. Weld (p. 41), "had in the West an effect both actual and moral similar to that produced in the East by the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga"; but while Saratoga was important chiefly in a negative way as marking the failure of Germaine's plan of cutting off the New England colonies, Vincennes was supremely important in a positive way in establishing the basis upon which American diplomacy ultimately secured the north-western hinterland. Similarly false impressions are conveyed by too hasty generalizations. To say that the federated colonies, having "fought the war [the Seven Years' War] to a complete victory and thus won for England a domain fairer than any nation ever possessed", were then "denied the fruits of that victory", is to overlook Wolfe and Amherst, the British regulars, and above all the British Navy, and to ignore perhaps half the considerations which actuated the framers of the Quebec Act. Unqualified charges against Hamilton at Detroit are made in language

**Decisive episodes in western history*. An address delivered at Iowa City, Iowa, before the State Historical Society of Iowa on February 21, 1914. By Laenas G. Weld. Iowa City. 1914. Pp. 46.

which seems indefensible without further evidence. It may be said that the records of Sir William Johnson, the British superintendent-general of Indian affairs, put the quarrel between the American settler and the red man in another light.

The series of "Chronicles of Canada" is intended to cover in thirty-two small volumes the salient features of the history of Canada. The volumes are beautifully printed and bound and, though the literary quality is necessarily somewhat uneven, they are all readable and some of them are of very high merit. He is a good patriot who induces a people to inform themselves about their own history, and these popular volumes, widely read as they will be in the schools and by the general public, will render an appreciable national service. *The Dawn of Canadian History*, by Professor Stephen Leacock,* is the first volume in the series. That a writer whose reputation has been acquired as a humorist and a teacher of political economy should have written a book in which a knowledge of geology, archaeology, ethnology, Scandinavian folk-lore, cartography, and navigation is required, can only be regarded as a *tour de force*. Certainly the book is very interesting. It begins with an account of what is known of Canada during pre-historic times; it discusses, in a very entertaining way, the problems connected with the presence of man on American soil; it tells what is known of the history of the Indian tribes in Canada; and it describes, in several chapters, the voyages to Canada which took place, or were reported to have taken place, before Jacques Cartier. The first of these chapters deals with "The Legend of the Norsemen". Mr. Leacock makes no attempt, of course, to discuss the vexed problems surrounding this subject; but it is not correct to imply that Dr. Nansen is one of those who "refuse even to admit that the Norsemen reached America" (p. 65). Dr.

**The Dawn of Canadian History: a Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada and the Coming of the White Man.* (Chronicles of Canada Series.) By Stephen Leacock. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co. 1914. Pp. xii, 112.

Nansen, it is true, disputes the historicity of the sagas; but that is another matter. The remaining chapters deal mainly with the voyages of the Cabots and the Corte-Reals. The subject matter of the book bristles with contentious subjects; and it must have been a difficult book to write. But, on the whole, the author has steered admirably between the Charybdis of boring the average reader and the Scylla of offending the specialist. The book concludes with some bibliographical notes.

The Voyages of the Norsemen to America. By William Hovgaard. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1914. Pp. xxi, 304. (Scandinavian Monographs: Vol. I.)

The literature regarding the Norse voyages to America has already attained formidable proportions; yet the subject continues to attract the attention of investigators. It is now generally agreed that the Norsemen did visit the northwest coast of North America about five hundred years before Columbus; but about the reliability of the Norse sagas in which the story of the Norse voyages to America is told, and about the identity of the places mentioned in them—Helluland, Markland, and Vinland—there is still profound disagreement. Nor can it be said that recent investigations have done much to dissipate the mist of uncertainty in which the subject is wrapped; in some respects, indeed, they have merely succeeded in making the problem more complex.

Mr. Hovgaard's contribution to the discussion has the merit of approaching the subject from a somewhat new angle. The chief value of his book is as a study of the purely naval aspects of the problem. As a former officer in the Royal Danish Navy, and as Professor of Naval Design and Construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he speaks with authority in regard to the sagas as viewed from the standpoint of navigation. His chapters on the ships of the Norsemen, the conditions under which they

sailed, and the problems connected with the tides, currents, and shore-lines of the regions they visited, are consequently of distinct value. It is interesting to know, for instance, that he finds no difficulty from the point of view of navigation in placing the Vinland settlement as far south as Cape Cod. In connection with his attempt to identify the places mentioned in the sagas, he furnishes a novel feature in the excellent photographs of various parts of the North American coast.

When Mr. Hovgaard approaches, however, other aspects of the problem, one does not feel the same confidence in following him. He himself has discussed such a difficulty very frankly in his preface:

"Some may judge that I have gone beyond my capacity as a naval man, for I have indeed trespassed on the territory of the historian, the ethnologist, and the botanist. It will perhaps be admitted, however, that after specialists have performed the technical task of bringing together and presenting the facts that bear on vexed questions, a verdict can well be given by a layman, provided it is based on a careful study of the available material" (p. vi).

But this is exactly what one is loath to admit. The layman may collect the evidence, but only the expert can interpret it. One is not satisfied, therefore, with Mr. Hovgaard's somewhat cavalier rejection of Dr. Nansen's conclusions regarding the mythical character of the sagas. These cannot be dismissed by a mere reference to "the terse realistic narrative of the sagas". The truth is that until Mr. Hovgaard shows more conclusively that the details of the sagas are trustworthy, a great deal of his reasoning falls to the ground.

On the whole, the tone of the book is admirably judicious and scholarly. Sometimes the analysis of the sagas is very suggestive. It is pointed out that Vinland does not always perhaps denote in the sagas the same place, and that the "skraelings" may mean sometimes the Indians and sometimes the Eskimos. An interesting feature of the book is the very successful attempt to rehabilitate in the estimation of scholars the Flat Island Book narrative, which since the time of Storm has been regarded as inferior in authority to the Saga of Eric the Red. Mr. Hovgaard shows that

the one contains no more inconsistencies or difficulties than the other. Taken all in all, the book is a contribution of first-class importance to the literature of the subject; and the American-Scandinavian Foundation, which is responsible for its publication, is to be much congratulated on the character of its first monograph.

Mr. Schalck de la Faverie's pamphlet on *Les Normands et la découverte de l'Amérique au Xe siècle** merely tells the story of the Norse voyages to America. It does not contain anything new; and the author expressly omits a discussion of the problems surrounding the subject. That he is familiar with these problems, is abundantly evident, however, from his narrative. A useful feature of the pamphlet is the reference to authorities, some of which, being of continental origin, are perhaps not well known to all American students of the Norse voyages.

Mr. H. P. Biggar's contribution to the *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont* is a critical examination of the evidence relating to John Rut's voyage to Newfoundland in 1527.† The expedition was composed at first of two ships. Rut's ship, the *Mary Guildford*, reached Newfoundland; the other ship, the *Sampson*, was apparently lost. It has hitherto been imagined that, after skirting the mainland of Nova Scotia, Rut returned home by a direct route; but Mr. Biggar adduces evidence of a circumstantial nature to show that he continued his course southward, and visited Puerto Rico and San Domingo, before returning to England.

**Les Normands et la découverte de l'Amérique au Xe siècle: contribution à l'étude des relations qui ont existé entre l'Europe et les continents transatlantiques avant Christophe Colomb.* Par A. Schalck de la Faverie. Paris: G. Ficker. 1912. Pp. 23.

†*An English expedition to America in 1527.* By H. P. Biggar. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan. 1913. (*Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont par ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de la vingt-cinquième année de son enseignement à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, pp. 459-472.)

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section I (Vols. i and ii): *New France, 1534-1760.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xviii, xii, 593.

To say that this co-operative survey of Canadian history and institutions undertakes to cover the entire field from the earliest French explorations to the present day would be to give a very inadequate idea of its scope or thoroughness. It is more than a history of people and institutions. That, indeed, is what chiefly distinguishes *Canada and its Provinces* from the various co-operative undertakings which have so greatly augmented the historical literature of recent years, as for example Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire générale* in France, the *Cambridge Modern History* in England, and the *American Nation Series* in the United States. All of these works, it is true, profess to lay adequate emphasis on economic forces and institutions, on the development of the arts and letters, and upon the various other non-political activities which go to make up the real history of a people. Yet none of them has satisfactorily fulfilled this ideal, chiefly because they all keep so closely to the chronological plan. The outstanding merit of *Canada and its Provinces* is the fact that the editors have recognized the desirability of devoting more space to topical discussions of life and institutions than to purely historical narrative. Not only do economic activities receive proper discussion, therefore, but art, literature, education, religion, local government, and many other phases of social history are given an emphasis which they ought to have, but rarely obtain, in general works of an historical nature.

Much can be said for and against the co-operative method of historical writing. It has the obvious advantage of securing a specialized treatment of each period and topic. It allows of proper emphasis on different points of view. On the other hand, it involves much repetition, no matter how

skilled the editing, and it is apt to result in a narrative that lacks coherence. The editors in this case, however, have done their work extremely well. They have managed to secure a degree of smoothness and continuity which is lacking in most undertakings of the type.

The first two volumes cover the history and institutions of the period 1534-1760. A short survey by the Honourable Thomas Chapais serves as an introduction. Then follows a discussion (running to forty pages) of early explorations, especially the Cartier voyages, by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty. The work of Champlain and the inland voyageurs is described by Mr. James H. Coyne; a chapter on exploration in the Far West is contributed by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee; and one on the beginnings of trade in the Hudson Bay region by Mr. Thomas G. Marquis. The great period of conflict is divided into two parts, the earlier campaigns being described by Mr. J. S. McLennan, and the later, including the operations at Quebec, by Colonel William Wood. These chapters, all of a narrative character, make up the three hundred pages of the first volume. They present a compact, judicious, well proportioned outline.

The second volume deals with the institutions of the French period. These are appropriately grouped under four main heads, each indicating a powerful influence in the colonial progress of the French régime. The political organization of the colony, its merits and shortcomings, as well as its effect on other branches of pioneer activity, are described in a joint chapter by Mr. Chapais and Professor Adam Shortt. The aims and achievements of the Church are stated by the Rev. Lewis Drummond. Then comes a chapter on the economic organization and life of the colony, including a survey of commercial relations with France, the Indian trade, finance and currency, by Mr. Shortt. A discussion of the land-tenure system and agriculture under the old dominion by the present reviewer concludes the volume.

Where the work of writing nine hundred pages has been divided among nine different contributors with topics of widely differing degrees of interest and importance to cover,

it is only to be expected that there should be some unevenness of quality and of style. There is much less of this, however, than one would imagine. Mr. Shortt's discussion of economic relations is a model of succinct presentation and gives us the clearest outline of this tangled subject that has yet been written in either French or English. Of Colonel Wood's chapters on the great war no more need be said than that they are quite up to the standard which he has set for himself and maintained in all his writings on Canadian military history. These two contributors set a difficult pace for their colleagues.

Neither of the two volumes contains much, if anything, that is new. This does not mean, however, that things are presented in hackneyed form or that there is any lack of freshness or spirit in the work. The contributors are, for the most part, men whose mastery of their own particular fields is unquestioned. They have now had an opportunity to marshal their evidence and to re-state their conclusions in a general way, free from the necessary trammels of more specialized writing. From this point of view the work has been admirably done. As a conspectus of the history and institutions of New France, based on scholarly study and put together in readable form, these two volumes render a service not only to interested general readers, but to close students of the subject as well. The books are attractively printed and contain a liberal number of illustrations.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

In *The Mariner of St. Malo** Mr. Stephen Leacock has written a smooth-flowing and interesting account of Jacques Cartier's successive voyages to Canada, including whatever there is to tell of Roberval's ill-fated colony at Charlesbourg. As the sole authority for these voyages is the narrative of Cartier himself (including the fragment on the third voyage), and as all the knotty points in that narrative have been

**The Mariner of St. Malo: a Chronicle of the Voyages of Jacques Cartier.* By Stephen Leacock. (Chronicles of Canada series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 125.

pretty well unravelled by scholars and commentators, Mr. Leacock had a comparatively easy task. No fault can be found with his history, and there can be nothing but praise for his easy style and the many little touches by which he arouses the reader's imagination and conjures up the actual vision of those wonderful journeys of discovery.

*The Seigneurs of Old Canada** by Professor William Bennett Munro is a presentation of the social and economic condition of Canada during the French régime. There were but two occupations for the population, agriculture and hunting for furs. The former was carried on under a system of land tenure similar to that which obtained in France, but with a difference. As the main object of the government was to promote settlement the seigneurs were debarred by royal edict from dealing with their land so as to interfere in any way with that policy. When it became known that some seigneurs were introducing into the grants to new *censitaires* conditions involving larger payments by way of rent or other onerous charges, the Crown issued a decree confiscating land of which a grant was denied by the seigneur on the customary terms. As Mr. Munro says,

"By one stroke of the royal pen the Canadian seigneur lost all right of ownership in his seignury; he became from this time on a trustee holding lands in trust for the future immigrant and for the sons of the people. However his lands might grow in value, the seigneur, according to the letter of the law, could exact no more from new tenants than from those who had first settled upon his estate. This was a revolutionary change; it put the seigneurial system in Canada on a basis wholly different from that in France" (p. 46).

When therefore the abolition of the system was decreed by a Canadian parliament, as lately as 1854, it was but removing an ornamental framework that had been without real significance for longer than is generally supposed. Mr. Munro's work is well written. Having already published two standard books on the subject he speaks with authority, and this popular account is as interesting as the subject-matter permits.

**The Seigneurs of Old Canada: a Chronicle of New World Feudalism.* By William Bennett Munro. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 156.

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux's paper on *Le Régime Seigneurial au Canada**, read before the Royal Society of Canada, is not, as the author explains, "precisely a chapter of history". It is rather an appreciation of the part which feudalism played in the life of French Canada. Mr. Lemieux points out, with much justice, that the seigneurs in Canada were never the incubus that they were in France; indeed, in many ways, feudalism was admirably suited to the country. The paper contains one or two mistakes; seigniorial tenure in Canada, for instance, was abolished, not in 1857 (p. 165), but in 1854.

The Great Intendant: a Chronicle of Jean Talon in Canada, 1665-1672. By Thomas Chapais. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 140.

It is now a little more than ten years since Mr. Chapais gave us his painstaking study of Jean Talon and his work in Canada. The present volume is a condensation of this earlier biography, written in popular style and touching only the high places in Talon's rather brief administrative career. It contains nothing new, nor does the author give indication that the lapse of a decade has in any way altered his own point of view. This, as is well known, is one of whole-souled admiration.

It has become the fashion to speak of Talon as the great intendant. True enough, he was probably the ablest among the eleven officials who occupied the intendancy during a century of early Canadian history. Yet Talon was not a man of rare capacity or imagination; he took most of his ideas from Colbert; and although he began many enterprises in New France, the plain truth is that not one of them was vigorous enough to survive very long after he went away.

In our own day Talon would be called a successful promoter. He could organize, get things started, and arouse

**Le Régime Seigneurial au Canada.* Par Rodolphe Lemieux. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 151-168.)

men's interest in them. He could write dispatches with the buoyancy of a land agent. "I am no courtier", he wrote to Louis XIV on one occasion, "and it is not to please the king or without reason that I say this portion of the French monarchy is destined to become something great. What I see now enables me to make such a prediction". Talon could also communicate his enthusiasm to others. Hence he was not long in the colony before a tannery, a shoe factory, a brewery, a shipyard, and various other industries were established as the outcome of his organizing powers. But all this constituted no such feat as his biographer would have us believe. The real problem was not to establish these industries, but to keep them going. Whether Talon could have solved this problem had he remained longer in the colony we have no means of knowing; but it is something which ought not to be taken for granted so readily. One cannot help suspecting that some of Talon's reputed greatness, at any rate, arises from his own good luck in securing relief from his official responsibilities just as the colony reached an era of depression and discouragement. On the other hand, there is no question that he was a man of marked diligence and possessed an unusual aptitude for business affairs.

The chief shortcoming of Mr. Chapais's volume is its uncritical character. Even the most adequate justice to the intendant and his plans scarcely demands that every phase of paternal policy should be described in terms of unmodified praise. In all that Talon did there is but one thing to which the author does not give approval. This is the intendant's disagreement with the clerical authorities on one or two occasions, and particularly his support of the brandy traffic, which was "the greatest error of his life". One need hardly add that Mr. Chapais is ultramontane in his sympathies. The book, however, is well arranged, accurate and readable.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Mr. Régis Roy's paper on *Isaac et Alexandre Berthier, Capitaines au régiment de Carignan** is a reply to the contention of a writer in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* that Isaac and Alexandre Berthier, names perpetuated in the geography of Quebec, were one and the same person. Mr. Roy has, by inquiries made in France, established the fact that they were two kinsmen, both officers in the Carignan regiment. The confusion between them has arisen from the fact that Isaac Berthier returned to France in 1668, whereas Alexandre remained in Canada. Mr. Roy prints at length the letters abstracted from the French archives which prove his point.

Mr. Benjamin Sulte continues in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada his studies of the history of the western fur-bearing country during the early part of the French régime.† He deals with the work of exploration and exploitation in the few years immediately preceding 1670. During this period, as he points out, attention was directed especially to two districts, the Iroquois settlements on Lake Ontario and Chagouamigon, near Bay Verte. In regard to the first district, Mr. Sulte traces the work of the Jesuit and Sulpician missionaries, of Jean Péré and Louis Jolliet, of Dollier de Casson and Galinée; in regard to the second district, he describes especially the journeys of Allouez and Nicolas Perrot. Although the paper contains perhaps little that is new or revolutionary, it is marked by Mr. Sulte's well known erudition; and it presents a connected picture of this chapter in the history of western exploration which has hitherto been lacking. Mr. Sulte suggests a new derivation of the name Toronto, which, he says, may be an abbreviation of *kaniatare iokaronti*, "the opening or entrance to the lake."

**Isaac et Alexandre Berthier, Capitaines au régiment de Carignan*. Par Régis Roy. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 125-137.)

†*Les Pays d'en haut, 1670*. Par Benjamin Sulte. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 67-96.)

*The 'Adventurers of England' on Hudson Bay** is a partial account of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company. The whole story would be too vast to be told in such small compass. Miss Laut, therefore, was well advised in devoting about two-thirds of the volume to the great struggle for supremacy on Hudson Bay between the Company and the French fur-traders, which merged in the greater struggle of the English and French nations. The intricate story of plot and counterplot, of Radisson's ventures, first with one, then with the other side, is most skilfully developed, and the interest is well sustained. The same quality of vivid narration is shown in the preliminary story of Henry Hudson's discovery of the Bay, and his tragic end, when set adrift by his crew in an open boat. The last chapter gives a summary of the explorations attempted or carried out both in Hudson Bay and on the western plains, up to and including Hendry's successful ascent of the Saskatchewan. In a book written especially for popular reading breadth of treatment is expected and Miss Laut has fulfilled the requirements very well. The remark, however, is somewhat unnecessarily injected that when Munk (or Munck as the author prefers to write it) wintered at the mouth of the Churchill river in 1619-20, although now "there are no forests within miles of Churchill . . . at that time pine woods crowded to the water's edge". Munk's reference to forests in his own narrative hardly bears out this strong statement, which if true, would be extraordinarily significant of a change of climate. It would be interesting to know the process by which Blackfeet warriors "scuttle the teepees" of the Cree squaws encamped on the banks of the Saskatchewan (p. 119); perhaps they dig a hole in the ground inside the tent and wait for a spring freshet.

Mr. Léon Jacob of the French Colonial Office has unearthed some new material on the siege of Louisbourg in

**The 'Adventurers of England' on Hudson Bay: a Chronicle of the Fur-Trade in the North.* By Agnes C. Laut. (Chronicles of Canada Series). Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 134.

1758.* It does not alter the hitherto known story, but fills in a good many details, though it is quite brief. It is a record from day to day of the military operations, and is in substance not unlike the daily war bulletins which the French government is now issuing. The difference is that the author inserts pungent comments upon personalities. The Governor Drucour is brave, but has no talent for conducting the defence of a fortress. M. de St. Julien, a regimental commander, is a dangerous spirit full of jealousy, unable to appreciate anything not done by himself. Other comments on persons are in a similar tone. Quite clearly the defence of the fortress was greatly weakened by dissensions among its defenders. We hear nothing of the heroism of Madame Drucour, of which so much has been said. Perhaps this, like the story of Laura Secord, is largely made up of legend. Mr. Jacob might, without great difficulty, have identified from military lists most of the persons who are spoken of in the text only by the names of the offices which they occupied. We are glad, however, to have this authentic addition to the story of the defence during the famous siege.

An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760. By Captain John Knox. Edited with Introduction, Appendix and Index by Arthur G. Doughty. Vol. I. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1914. Pp. xxiii, 512.

The Champlain Society has never performed a more useful task than in undertaking this beautiful edition of Knox's *Journal*. The book, which appeared in 1769, has never until now been reproduced, and has become very scarce. As time goes on, Knox is seen to be by far the most valuable authority in regard to the British conquest of Canada. He was in Nova Scotia in 1757, and took part in the abortive campaigns of that year against Louisbourg.

**Un Journal inédit du Siège de Louisbourg (Ile du Cap Breton) en 1758.* Par Léon Jacob. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1913. (*Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, pp. 619-652.)

He remained in Nova Scotia during the next year, and though not present at Amherst's capture of Louisbourg was in close touch with persons who had a share in that exploit and furnishes a valuable commentary on the campaign. The monotony of life at Fort Cumberland ended in 1759. Knox then went with Wolfe's army to Quebec and was among those who scrambled up to the Plains of Abraham in the early morning of the eventful 13th of September. He witnessed the surrender of Quebec and remained in that town during the trying winter which followed. He fought at Sainte-Foy, he took part in Murray's advance on Montreal, and was present at the surrender of the town to Amherst.

This eye-witness was an obscure officer of whom we know almost nothing. He makes slight reference to himself, and he remains only a dim figure. Dr. Doughty, whose work as editor cannot be too highly praised, has unearthed all that is ever likely to be known about Knox and assuredly it is very little. He was an Irishman, the son of a Sligo merchant. He served on the continent in 1748. In 1757 he married a lady of Cork who had some money which was lost through the default of a trustee. After the campaign in America his regiment was disbanded. He remained on half-pay until 1775, and died in 1778, leaving a necessitous widow who appealed in vain to the War Office for help. Dr. Doughty fills in with a few slight details this outline, but this is all that the most diligent inquiry has enabled him to do. Knox's *Journal* is in truth the only record of Knox's life. He was a keen observer, with the power of writing effective though rather loose English. Knox recorded from day to day what he saw. He collected official announcements and reports, and incorporated them in his story. A narrative constructed in this way is not likely to show un-failing accuracy and, in truth, there are many errors in the *Journal*. It is still true, however, that in its main outlines it is the most complete and trustworthy account in existence of the campaign which won Canada for Britain. Linked with this trustworthiness is a certain charm in the simple style which holds the attention of the reader and makes the

narrative read like a story. There is no French account to rival it. The fullest connected French narrative is that of the Comte de Malartic, and it is bald and uninteresting compared with the vivid story of Knox.

Only the first volume of this new edition of the *Journal* has appeared, and we must reserve an estimate of the work as a whole until we have the completed *Journal* before us. Already, however, we have enough to reveal the editor's method. His preface, giving all that can be found about Knox himself, is followed by the text of the *Journal*. In the voluminous notes Dr. Doughty corrects and amplifies Knox's narrative. He has been at great pains to follow, where possible, the careers of those whom Knox mentions. Sometimes the notes contain long extracts from contemporary writers; and in this way we have the evidence not of one, but of many narratives. The first volume brings us to the end of July 1759, so that the most interesting part of the story—that of the surrender of Quebec and of Montreal—remains to be told. There are in this volume more than a dozen illustrations, chiefly portraits of Wolfe and others, and half a dozen contemporary maps and plans relating chiefly to Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence river. The book is printed in the excellent style which we have come to associate with the publications of the Champlain Society.

Life of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, K.B. By Edward Salmon. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons. 1914. Pp. xi, 243.

Gradually we are being told the life story of all those who played a leading part in the British conquest of Canada. A good deal that is new has been unearthed about Wolfe, Townshend and others on the British side, and of Bougainville and Lévis on the French side. The part played by the navy in the war is now receiving adequate attention. Colonel Wood's *Logs of the Conquest of Canada* gives us the official story of the doings of the British fleet. Now we have from Mr. Salmon the story of Sir Charles Saunders, the admiral

of the fleet before Quebec in 1759. Mr. Salmon has found some new material, but it must be admitted that the results are somewhat meagre. He says: "It is matter for profound regret that so little can be traced on the purely personal side concerning Sir Charles Saunders" (p. 228). We know almost nothing of his private life; "his will contains no reference to his wife or any of his family, we get no enlightenment from that lengthy and involved legal document" (p. 228). Practically all that we have to go upon is the official papers and the memoirs of the time.

Saunders was born about 1713, and he died in 1775. He was a member of Parliament for a long time and after his Canadian campaign he succeeded Anson as head of the Admiralty. What we know about Saunders indicates that he was painstaking and efficient; but we have in truth no information about his personal opinions or his more subtle characteristics. It is one of the odd chances of history that Wolfe's name and fame should have become classical, while Saunders, who played a part in some respects even more important than did Wolfe during the siege of Quebec, should be known to few save special students. The accident of Wolfe's death on the Plains of Abraham, linked with the winning of a tangible victory that could be measured in precise terms, has thrown his figure into clear outline and Saunders, exercising the almost mysterious pressure of naval force, remains in the background. Yet he had more men under his command than had Wolfe; his fleet was the largest that had ever crossed the Atlantic; and he had a part in the final surrender of Quebec that Wolfe did not live to see. The muse of history is a capricious dame. Saunders himself would not have complained of her reticence about him; the silent sailor was content to do his duty. Though Wolfe was an irritable colleague, the two leaders worked together admirably and before Quebec there were none of the sordid quarrels between the services that are so often found in other campaigns.

Mr. Salmon's writing is clear, though it does not possess any striking quality of style. We thoroughly endorse one

of his conclusions: "On the heights of Quebec stands the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm; in the history of the British Empire there should be an equally simple and equally eloquent monument bearing just the words, 'Wolfe, Saunders'" (p. 148).

Two volumes of the *Chronicles of Canada* are revisions under different titles of books that have appeared before. These are *The Winning of Canada* and *The Passing of New France**, both by Lieut.-Colonel Wood, which were originally issued as *Wolfe, the Hero of Quebec* and *Montcalm, the Hero of a Lost Cause*, and were reviewed in our volume XVII (p. 28).

Mr. Beckles Willson has made himself an authority on all that relates to Wolfe. He has now unearthed some unpublished correspondence between Mrs. Wolfe and the War Office.† Wolfe's mother was a difficult person. She interfered in her son's love affairs and their relations were strained when Wolfe went to Quebec. Wolfe's father died shortly after the young officer left England, and left a considerable property in which the widow had a life interest. Her son, however, had hardly been buried when she began to make heavy claims for his pay upon the War Office. Wolfe was not Commander-in-Chief in America and therefore was entitled only to the pay of his rank as Major-General, which was one-fifth of the pay to which a Commander-in-Chief was entitled. Mrs. Wolfe, however, refused to admit that her son was anything but Commander-in-Chief before Quebec and therefore claimed on his account the pay of £10 a day and perquisites, the whole amounting to a considerable sum. Mr. Beckles Willson has found the whole correspondence about this rather sordid matter which

**The Winning of Canada: a Chronicle of Wolfe.* By William Wood. (*Chronicles of Canada Series.*) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 152.
The Passing of New France: a Chronicle of Montcalm. By William Wood. (*Chronicles of Canada Series.*) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 150.

†*Mrs. Wolfe and the War Office.* By Beckles Willson. (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, May, 1914, pp. 1023-1037.)

extended over a period of nearly five years. The final answer of the War Office is dated September 14, 1764, just five years and a day after Wolfe's death. It is a definite refusal to allow as pay more than the regulation £2 a day. This answer had the tragic result of causing the death of Mrs. Wolfe. She died ten days after receiving the final letter, closing the correspondence.

The Fall of Canada: a Chapter in the History of the Seven Years' War. By George M. Wrong. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1914. Pp. 272.

The connection of the author with this REVIEW prevents our giving more than a summary of the contents of the above volume. It covers a single year, that between Wolfe's victory before Quebec in September 1759, and the final surrender of Canada a year later in September 1760. Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* still stands as the most comprehensive account of the struggle which led to the reduction of Canada, but Parkman passes lightly over the period which followed the fall of Quebec. The present volume may be taken to fill up in detail this half-forgotten year. It involves a close study of the social condition of Canada, of the relations between New France and Old France, and of the policy and determination of Pitt completely to humble France.

There are seven chapters. The first tells the story of the closing days of the campaign of 1759 after the death of Wolfe. The second and third chapters describe conditions in Quebec and Montreal respectively during the winter. Chapter iv relates the attempt by the French under Lévis to retake Quebec. Chapter v tells of his failure to follow up his victory. Chapter vi describes the advance of the British on Montreal. Chapter vii tells of Amherst's descent of the St. Lawrence from Oswego with a great force, and of the fall of Montreal and with it of New France.

With the list of authorities is an estimate of the value of the more important ones. The Lévis papers and Knox's

Journal are the most frequently quoted sources. The author has consulted much material in manuscript in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa and in other places. For the background in Europe he has used the writings of Horace Walpole, the correspondence of Pitt, and contemporary memoirs. The book is beautifully printed and has some excellent portraits and maps. The index is rather inadequate.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section II (Vols. iii and iv): *British Dominion, 1760-1840.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xii, xii, 757.

The third and fourth volumes of *Canada and its Provinces* deal with Canadian history from 1763 to 1840. All the authors appear to have made a thorough study of original documents, and if the volumes have few pinnacles their level is almost uniformly high. Of course, no method of division is ever wholly satisfactory, but it seems a pity that the political and the constitutional history are so completely separated. During this period at least the political history of Canada was little more than a constitutional struggle, and the division leads to much repetition.

The chapters on political and constitutional history are by Mr. Duncan McArthur, late of the Archives Department. They comprise about two-fifths of the work, and, though not brilliant, are adequate and thorough. Some of the lesser known episodes, such as that of Governor Prescott, are especially well done. On the whole we should have liked more character sketches of the interesting personalities who played their part on the Canadian stage. Save for Papineau, Mr. McArthur's treatment of individuals tends to be external. Another point on which Mr. McArthur might be criticized is his inadequate emphasis on the increase in the political influence of the French-Canadian clergy owing to the British conquest. Prior to 1763 the Church in Canada had been a

French mission partly served by French ecclesiastics. After the conquest the British government under the influence of the Old World political struggle discouraged or prohibited the importation of Frenchmen, and thus a really national clergy grew up, sharing to the full in the ideals and the limitations of their flock. So again, in his sketch of Upper Canada, Mr. McArthur does not say enough about the change made after 1825 by the large immigration from England and Ireland, a point on which Lord Durham rightly laid stress in his Report.

On the question of the Quebec Act Mr. McArthur breaks a lance with Dr. Walton, formerly of McGill University, who writes the general introduction to the two volumes. On the whole our sympathies are with Dr. Walton. Mr. McArthur quite rightly points out that one purpose of the Quebec Act was to establish the French as a bit in the mouth of the colonies to the south, but it is undue simplification to forget the undoubted kindly feeling in England towards the French Canadians and the genuine desire to effect an honest settlement of their difficulties. Similarly, unless Mr. McArthur has evidence which he does not produce, it is unfair to say that "the English criminal law was maintained only because its severity would the better contribute to the support of French customs". The reason given by Lord North in introducing the bill was "because it is a more refined and a more merciful law than the law of France," and Mr. McArthur produces no evidence to make us doubt this.

The chapter on "Pontiac's War", by Mr. T. G. Marquis, is well written, as are the chapters on "Canada and the American Revolution" and "Canada in the War of 1812" by Colonel William Wood of Quebec. Colonel Wood's descriptions of the fighting are admirable, full of life and vigour. He is, however, too fond of taking a crack at the American politician; for if political errors often destroy military efficiency, military errors often upset political calculations. In describing the causes of the war he leaves out almost entirely American bitterness at British support

to the western Indians, nor does he speak of the valuable aid given to Brock and his successors by the grandees of the North-West Company at Montreal.

Probably the most valuable part of the second of the two volumes is the chapters by Mr. Adam Shortt on "General Economic History" and on "Currency and Banking". Mr. Shortt writes with authority and with lucidity, and brings together in these two chapters much material hitherto inaccessible or scattered. If one has to criticize even a small point in these excellent chapters it would be to differ from the author in his view that the West Indian trade was of no permanent benefit to Nova Scotia. A great wrong was done to the West Indies by Great Britain in forbidding their trade with their natural markets in the United States, but that the great wrong to them did at least help to build up Halifax can hardly be questioned.

Mr. L. J. Burpee writes vividly on western exploration, and one is glad to find that the heroes of these great journeys are at last coming to their own. On Indian affairs and on the Post office the chapters by Mr. Duncan C. Scott and Mr. William Smith leave little to be desired, save that Mr. Smith like Mr. McArthur is a little too restrained. A character sketch of that imperial and imperious official, T. A. Stayner, long the Deputy Postmaster-General, and the *bête noire* of Canadian politicians, would have been extremely interesting.

Many other points might be touched on. How many of us knew of the quenching in 1776 of the great central camp-fire of the Iroquois, which the Onondagas had tended since the formation of the league? It is to the credit of British and Canadian finance that the army bills of 1812 proved more in demand in the United States than their own provincial currency. The following extract from a letter of Lord Durham to his successor Poulett Thomson is too characteristic to be omitted:

"Sept. 1, 1839

"I certainly can and will give you with pleasure some useful (nay, almost essential) information as to things and men in Canada if you really wish to have it.

But if you and your colleagues have made up your minds to pursue the course which the *âmes damnées* of colonial jobbery, the Robinsons, Arthurs, John Neilsons, etc., suggest to you it will be only giving yourself and me unnecessary trouble to allude to the subject at all.

Be that as it may, you have personally my best wishes for your success, the attainment of which, believe me, depends on your relying on yourself and judging for yourself. With rare exceptions, and there are a few, all officials in both Provinces are vitally interested in deceiving and blinding you. If you once get within their slimy folds nothing can prevent you being swallowed bones and all."

W. L. GRANT

In two *conférences* Mr. Edouard Montpetit* briefly stated to a Parisian audience the principal facts in the constitutional history of French Canada since the conquest, and gave also some statistics of Canada's industrial growth in the last generation. Naturally he lays stress upon the achievements of his fellow-countrymen. The rebellion of 1837, according to this account, was a revolt of the French-Canadian population against a ruling English *camarilla*. No mention is made of the situation in Upper Canada at the same period, nor of the fact that the speedy collapse of the rebellion in Lower Canada was largely due to the indifference of the bulk of the French-Canadian population.

Mgr. L. A. Paquet contributes to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada an essay on the history of slavery in Canada.† The essay contains little that is new; but it gives an interesting sketch of the extent of slavery in Canada, especially during the French régime, and it traces briefly the rise of the abolitionist movement in Canada. In this movement the Roman Catholic Church in Canada played an important part. But it was, after all, as Mgr. Paquet says, the prohibition by the British Parliament in 1807 of the trade in slaves that led irresistibly to the Act of 1833 abolishing slavery in British territory. The paper is slight, but interesting.

**Les survivances françaises au Canada*. Par Edouard Montpetit. (Conférences faites à l'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques les 13 et 20 Juin, 1913.) Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1914. Pp. 92.

†*L'Esclavage au Canada*. Par Mgr. L. A. Paquet. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 139-149.)

Mr. Wood has written in pleasing if at times^{ff} florid style and for popular consumption an account of the great war chief of the Mohawks.* For details lacking in the sources he has at times drawn to a pardonable extent upon his imagination. In some cases he has trusted his authorities too far. It is unfortunate that he has not availed himself of Colonel Cruikshank's learned and judicious monograph on *Butler's Rangers*. Relying upon partisan accounts current in the United States during and after the Revolutionary war, Mr. Wood has given emphasis to what appears to be a biased and inaccurate view of the Wyoming and Cherry Valley tragedies. A perusal of Colonel Cruikshank's work would have saved him from this error. There was no Wyoming massacre. No woman, child, or unarmed man was killed. What happened was the crushing defeat and practical annihilation of an armed force advancing to the attack. It was a tragic incident of a bitter war. To call it a massacre is a misuse of language. At Cherry Valley some women and children were killed, and a considerable number were taken prisoners by Indians. The evidence shows however that Butler, instead of inciting the Indians, used all his powers to restrain them, saved many lives, and redeemed and liberated most of the captives. At that very moment Mrs. John Butler and other Loyalist women were captives in the hands of the rebels, and in peril of their lives, and the Indians were being threatened with fire and sword and assured that no quarter would be given them. Colonel Cruikshank has amply vindicated the reputation of the Butlers and Butler's Rangers.

The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution.

By Paul Chrisler Phillips. (University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. xi, No 7.) Urbana. 1913. Pp. 247.

The *George Rogers Clark Papers* published two to three years ago by the Illinois State Historical Library have been

**The War Chief of the Six Nations, a Chronicle of Joseph Brant.* By Louis Aubrey Wood. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 147.

supplemented by this excellent study of the diplomacy by which the results of Clark's expedition were secured. If current diplomacy during the war can be taken as the barometer of international forces, the ultimate value of naval and military operations is seen in naked simplicity when those operations come to be translated into the concrete terms of a treaty of peace. The fact that the American contentions for the West received no formal support from France and incurred insistent opposition from Spain makes this phase of diplomacy during the Revolutionary war particularly indicative of the conflicting policies of the coalition against Great Britain.

The central figure of the study is naturally Vergennes; and even if the author's estimate of foreign diplomacy is unconsciously influenced—in some instances, it would seem, not a little—by a too exclusively American point of view, it must be said that dominant motives are traced through the evidence with methodical thoroughness. The conclusion from the minute examination of the correspondence seems to be that Vergennes was playing a consistent and unselfish game; consistent even though he declined to support American contentions for the West, and unselfish to the point not only of seeking to gain nothing—not even Canada—for France, but of offering the most costly guarantees to Spain in order to secure her alliance. "Among all the friends of the new republic", says Mr. Phillips, "no one can show a higher title to loyalty, not even the lovable and chivalrous Lafayette, than the careworn and thoughtful statesman Vergennes." He was not without "enthusiasm for the nation he had called into existence". For her protection he "devoted the best efforts of many years".

The influence of Vergennes in vindicating American independence, but in deprecating conquest in either Canada or the West, throws an interesting light upon the relinquishment of further expeditions in force against Canada. That this policy was sane and in fact the only safe basis for a coalition between France and her "greedy allies"—both struggling for the mastery of the Mississippi—the author seems to

grant, without estimating too closely the obvious interests of French policy in keeping the United States at once menaced by Great Britain and dependent upon France. Vergennes' opposition to American claims in the West is the more easily condoned through the necessity of conciliating Spanish interests in the Gulf of Mexico; but the result is to leave Vergennes endowed with superlative—almost impossible—virtues toward his friends, and with a devouring hatred for his one enemy. Towards Spain and the United States he was patient and unselfish, with "no trace of jealousy or meanness", despite "counsels disregarded and the pledges made to him badly broken". That the only motive for this self-sacrifice and for the supreme energy which secured at the critical moment a naval supremacy (the determining factor, as Washington pointed out, in the war in America) was a blind uncalculating hatred for Great Britain—a willingness to lose much that Britain might lose still more—seems capable of much qualification. Nor can the meek acquiescence of Vergennes in the treatment meted out to French interests by the American representatives during the negotiations for peace, be said to be altogether convincing. If there was no help for it, half a loaf was better than no bread.

It would seem on the other hand that less than justice is done to the natural interests of Spain. Compared with the French, her own policy would seem to be obvious and inevitable; her interests indeed were scarcely concealed. To have granted to the Americans the navigation of the Mississippi, to have acquiesced in American expansion westward and even in an expedition for Florida, would have sacrificed Spanish control of the Gulf of Mexico for no adequate consideration whatever. To have supported openly and unreservedly the revolt of discontented colonies of Great Britain would have gone far to justify rebellion in every Spanish colony in America; to say nothing of the risk to Spain of losing her sugar islands to the chief naval power in Europe. If the policy of Spain from the American standpoint was "insatiable greed for land" and "jealousy . . . stronger than greed but . . . not unmixed with fear", what

can be said of the policy of France from the British standpoint? The wonder would seem to be not that Spain was so unsympathetic and did so little, but that she could be brought to do anything at all without a certainty of substantial reward.

In at least one other particular Mr. Phillips seems to fall short of impartiality. In the devious negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Versailles, the policy of Shelburne in detaching the Americans from the French alliance is emphatically stated. Vergennes, under the necessity of conciliating Spain in her contention for supremacy in the West, had obviously less to offer the American representatives than had Shelburne whose prime enemy was France and who was prepared to conciliate America; and despite the inestimable services of Vergennes personally and of France, a "loyal and unfaltering friend of the nation she had called into life", Jay not only sent Vaughan to propose to the British ministry to "cut the cords which tied us to France", but proceeded to draw up secretly with Oswald a treaty for that purpose. When the treaty fell through, both Adams and Jay still "resolved to keep secret from her [France] all knowledge of their negotiations, and forced the enfeebled Franklin to agree". Yet the British negotiations with an enemy are termed "the duplicity of Britain" while Jay's treatment of French interests passes unconsciously without censure and, it may be said, almost without explanation. Even if there was knowledge of French obligations to Spain and of conflict between French and American interests over the fisheries, it could scarcely be contended that the obligations of France to the United States were commensurate with American obligations to France. The author states candidly, however, that after suggesting secretly a British expedition to take Florida from Spain, Jay "was not proud of his tactics".

"The preservation of American domination in the Mississippi Valley", it would seem, is to be attributed, in a word, primarily to "Franklin's . . . foresight and watchfulness"; to the success of Clark's expedition in affording a

sound basis of occupation or conquest; and finally to the fact that despite Vergennes' loyalty and resolution during the war, peace came, as Mr. Phillips says, "through negotiations unknown to him, and by a diplomacy which overreached his own".

In printing and scholarship this study, as one would expect, leaves little to be desired. It is inevitable in diplomatic correspondence that there should be much reiteration; and the author's fidelity to his sources results in much repetition in the text. The student is amply repaid, however, by a rare accumulation of valuable evidence, both in the text and in the foot-notes. The bibliography and index are excellent. The study is altogether a valuable contribution to Canadian as well as to American history.

CHESTER MARTIN

Professor Siebert's short paper on *The Dispersion of the American Tories** touches Canadian history at several points. His description of the Loyalist migration to Canada overland is particularly good, though he certainly over-estimates its numbers when he places the population of Upper Canada in 1783 at over 10,000, and in 1791 at 25,000. Pitt's estimate in 1791 was only 10,000; and the census which was taken of the "western settlements" in 1784 shows a population of scarcely half of this. Another paper by Professor Siebert, on *The American Loyalists in the Eastern Seigniories and Townships of the Province of Quebec*,† covers part of the same ground in a more detailed manner. It is based on an exhaustive study of the Haldimand papers, supplemented by a wide knowledge of the printed authorities. The organization in Canada of the various Loyalist corps which took part in the American revolutionary war is described for the first time, so far as we are aware, in great detail. The part which these corps played in the war is traced; as is their fate when

**The Dispersion of the American Tories*. By Wilbur H. Siebert. (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1914, pp. 185-197.)

†*The American Loyalists in the Eastern Seigniories and Townships of the Province of Quebec*. By Wilbur H. Siebert. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. ii, pp. 3-41.)

the war was over. Apparently the number of Loyalist soldiers who settled in the province of Quebec was not great. Professor Siebert has been able to find traces of only about 800 who settled in the province; though he points out that "doubtless many others had settled quietly in various communities long before the British government took any steps to compensate American Tories for their adherence, losses or services". A few Loyalists settled in what were afterwards the Eastern Townships; though Professor Siebert makes it very clear that up to 1791 the British government set its face like flint against any settlement of this region. The reason for this was that the British government wished to interpose an uninhabited strip of land between Canada and the American states. The title of Professor Siebert's paper is rather unfortunate: the "eastern seigniories" would surely be those in the districts of Quebec and Gaspé, whereas those about the Richelieu river are obviously intended. The confusion has doubtless arisen through a misunderstanding of the term "Eastern Townships"; these townships were so called in order to distinguish them from the townships in Upper Canada. But a slip of this sort does not detract from the value of an admirable piece of historical research.

Since Egerton Ryerson published his *Loyalists of America and their times* in 1880, no attempt has been made to present a connected account of the Loyalist immigration to Canada. Yet in the interval much new material has come to light. The Haldimand papers have been calendared in the Dominion Archives reports; some admirable researches have been made into the history of the Loyalists in the Revolution by the newer school of American historians; and more details have come to light with regard to the migration to Canada. The aim of Mr. Wallace's little book on the Loyalists,* published in the "Chronicles of Canada" series, has been to bind together this new material, and to tell the

**The United Empire Loyalists: a Chronicle of the Great Migration.* By W. Stewart Wallace. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co. 1914. Pp. xi, 148.

story afresh. In doing this, Mr. Wallace deplores the fact that in Canada "the United Empire Loyalists are still regarded with an uncritical veneration which has in it something of the spirit of primitive ancestor worship", and he describes his book as "an attempt to do the United Empire Loyalists the honour of painting them as they were". He describes first the growth, extent, and character of the Loyalist element in the American colonies; he traces the part played by them in the Revolution, and the course of persecution to which they were subjected by the Whigs; and he describes the migrations to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Canada proper. A chapter is devoted to the later immigration to Upper Canada under Simcoe; and another to the social history of the Loyalists in their new home. A working bibliography is appended to the narrative.

Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818. Selected and edited with notes by Arthur G. Doughty and Duncan A. McArthur. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1914. Pp. xiii, 576.

This is a successor, and a worthy one, to the volume of *Canadian Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791*, issued by the Dominion Archives in 1907 under the editorship of Professor Shortt and Dr. Doughty, and is to be followed by a third volume, bringing the collection down to 1841. Probably none of the many valuable publications of the Archives is so valuable as this series; certainly none has attracted so much attention from British and Australian scholars. It is seven years since the first volume appeared, but we do not complain; the work of preparation must have been heavy, the number of documents to be sorted great; the seven years have been well spent. We are however encouraged to hope that the next will not be so long in making its appearance. Some expressions in the preface, and the reference to later dates in one or two notes, (e.g., on page 377) look as though the editors had originally intended the present volume to

run to 1837; if this surmise is correct, we may hope for the speedy appearance of the next volume.

The documents are on the whole well chosen. Two valuable maps of the electoral divisions are reprinted. As Dr. Doughty is one of the editors, it goes without saying that the index is a model of thoroughness. The notes are more abundant and even more objective and impartial than those in the former volume, and are laudably full of biographical details. In many of them are given in smaller type valuable extracts from documents not worth printing in full, so that the richness of our feast is increased.

There is, however, one very pointed omission in this volume to which attention must be called, and this is the total absence of any reference to the recent publication by the Ontario Bureau of Archives of a number of the documents here given. The editors frequently refer to other printed sources, such as Christie's *History of Lower Canada*, from which they rightly reprint a number of the important Ryland papers of 1810; but though we find a number of extracts from the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, and though these Journals and their history are referred to in the preface, we are given no hint that in 1909 the Ontario Bureau of Archives began their publication in full and that the year 1818 has already been passed. On pages 77-83 is given the proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe dividing Upper Canada into counties, but no mention is made of the fact that it will also be found in the Report of the Ontario Bureau for 1906. Similarly on page 325 is given the extract from the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada referring to the eligibility of Mr. Justice Thorpe, without any reference to their publication in a fuller form in the Ontario report for 1911.

W. L. GRANT

From Isle-aux-Noix to Châteauguay: A Study of Military Operations on the Frontier of Lower Canada in 1812 and 1813. By E. A. Cruikshank. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third Series, vol. viii, section ii, pp. 129-173.)

Colonel Cruikshank's enthusiasm for the documentary history of the war of 1812 seems never to abate. For many years he devoted himself to the campaigns on the Niagara frontier. Now he extends his studies, in much the same way, to the frontier south of Montreal. His method is to make a composite chronicle out of the original documents, and substantiate his own interpretation of the history by abundant foot-notes which give exact references to the original authorities. His chronicles, therefore, occupy a place somewhere between an archivist's report and the finished work of a regular historian. But they are nearer to history than to archives.

Colonel Cruikshank does well to draw particular attention to the minor operations of the war, because they are full of instruction about all matters connected with the use of half-trained or quarter-trained men, afloat and ashore. The whole war was a makeshift one. But the great disproportion of numbers by land on the American side was more than counterbalanced by the superior training and discipline on the British side. When the naval actions on Lakes Erie and Champlain are concerned, however, the position is reversed in the matter of discipline and training. Colonel Cruikshank introduces us to Macdonough, the future victor of Plattsburg in 1814, as a discouraged lieutenant in 1813, reporting that he has only twenty seamen and modestly asking for a reinforcement of thirty more. "There are no men to get here, and soldiers are miserable creatures on shipboard, and I very much fear that unless I get the above ordinary seamen and not soldiers, there will be a dark spot in our Navy." What an American commander well called "the shameful and corrupt neutrality on the lines" is well illustrated by many apt examples. As is well known,

the British army was greatly dependent on supplies furnished by American contractors to whom their country's honour was as nothing compared with the pocketing of dollars.

The preliminaries of Châteauguay are given at considerable length. This is as excellent as it is unusual; for the dramatic little skirmish which has immortalized De Salaberry in Canadian annals was preceded by an American advance that was almost as well planned and begun as the battle itself was badly executed. The New York militia proved as exasperating as the American State militia nearly always did elsewhere. They mostly refused to attack Canada beyond the limits of their own State and resented "the unreasonable severity and arbitrary conduct of the general and regular officers". Then the Governor of Vermont recalled the Vermont militia from the State of New York, and became additionally enraged because it had been commanded there by an officer of the United States Army. No wonder the American attacks were all parts and no whole. The battle of Châteauguay is well described as part of a documented chronicle; but no one previously unfamiliar with it could follow it without a plan. The legendary "Thermopylae Three Hundred" is rightly set aside in favour of the proper numbers, which were (though Colonel Cruikshank does not precisely state them), 460 in the British firing line and 1590 "present" on the field. The actual odds were, of course, nothing like the legendary "twenty to one". Half as much, for those in action at all, is nearer the truth.

Mr. Frank H. Keefer publishes a little pamphlet, *Beaverdams*,* in which he relates the course of events leading to the battle of June 24, 1813. In giving Laura Secord all the glory of warning Fitzgibbon of the intended attack by the Americans he follows the popular tradition. It does not lessen in any way the heroism of that noble woman to recognize that the information given by her was but a corroboration of what Fitzgibbon had already learned from the Indians. Mr. Keefer concludes by describing the monu-

**Beaverdams*. By F. H. Keefer. Thorold. [1914.] Pp. 16.

ment erected in 1874 by some residents of Thorold over the remains of sixteen American soldiers which were found in the excavations made for the third Welland Canal. He mentions also the discovery of cannon-balls in various places of the streets of Thorold, and suggests as an appropriate memorial of the battlefield that the small tract of vacant land between the present canal and the new one under course of construction be set aside by the Dominion Government as a national park.

A Great Peace Maker: The Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813-1827. Edited by Count Gallatin. With an Introduction by Viscount Bryce. London: William Heinemann. [1914.] Pp. xvi, 315.

James Gallatin was a member of one of the most distinguished families of France and Switzerland. While young he went to the United States in protest against military service in the army of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel upon which his family wished him to enter. His phrase, "I will not serve a tyrant", explains his principles. An aristocrat by birth, he was yet in thorough sympathy with democratic ideas. Had he been born in America there is little doubt that he might have become president of the republic, but the accident of foreign birth closed this position to him. The rudeness of manners in the new world offended him. His son James is the author of the present book. This lad of seventeen showed a precocious spirit. His code of morals was distinctively Parisian, and he is quite frank about his amours. The interest of the book for history centres in the grave and serious father, for whom the dissipated son had a profound reverence.

Gallatin was sent in 1813 to Petrograd (then known as St. Petersburg) to inform the Czar Alexander I on American questions, since the Czar had offered to mediate between the belligerents, the United States and Great Britain. Gallatin went from Petrograd to London and found there a belief that

the continuance of the war might break up the United States and lead to a reunion between New and Old England. Both sides were extremely difficult; and Gallatin makes some pungent comments upon the opinions and the manners of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, who were his colleagues in representing American interests. They insisted that the negotiations for peace should not take place in London, because in London they would be treated rather as colonists than as representing a foreign state. In consequence the delegates met at Ghent. We have glimpses there of Adams in a bad temper, of annoyances from Clay, and of much pouring of oil on the troubled waters by the polished Gallatin. "Clay uses strong language to Adams, and Adams returns the compliment. Father looks calmly on with a twinkle in his eye. To-day there was a severe storm, and Father said, 'Gentlemen, gentlemen, we must remain united or we will fail'" (p. 28). In August it seems as if the treaty is impossible. In the end, by the intervention of Castlereagh and Wellington, the British attitude is modified and difficult subjects are avoided. The treaty was signed on December 24. The young diarist records on December 27, "We have now to wait for the ratification of the treaty. Indeed, I find it a great rest for me. I have copied all father's letters as well as all the important ones he has received. Although I am only seventeen years of age, I feel much older. Mr. Adams has shown great kindness to me. At first I did not like him, but now will be sorry when we part" (p. 36).

The treaty did not touch upon commercial questions and when, a little later, Gallatin was minister to France, he played some part in the negotiation between the former enemies which resulted in a treaty of commerce. The appendix contains some interesting correspondence between Gallatin and Alexander Baring upon the projects for peace in 1813. While there is nothing of first-rate importance in the volume, it gives us with great clearness something of the American background of the time. It helps also to dispel the idea that Great Britain was an easy victim to American acuteness in negotiations of the kind. For a time progress was

impossible because Great Britain insisted on retaining the Great Lakes. All that the Americans could do was to secure the *status quo ante bellum*, and it was left to later negotiations to determine the difficult questions of boundaries.

The government of Canada has performed the useful task of printing the text of the *Treaties and Agreements** affecting Canada's relations with the United States. The volume begins with the text of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 and ends with the agreement respecting the North Atlantic fisheries in 1912. Between these are many important papers—the Ashburton-Webster treaty (1842), the treaty respecting the Oregon boundary (1846), the treaty of Washington (1870), the convention regarding the Alaska boundary (1903), etc. The documents in the volume number thirty-four in all and are published entirely without comment. They form an invaluable record of the result of the negotiations of one hundred years on matters affecting the two neighbours.

The British Empire and the United States: a Review of their Relations during the Century of Peace following the Treaty of Ghent. By William Archibald Dunning. Toronto: William Briggs. 1914. Pp. xl, 381.

Professor Dunning's book was produced under the auspices of the American committee in charge of the celebration of one hundred years of peace between the British Empire and the United States. It has an introduction by Lord Bryce, and a preface by President Nicholas Murray Butler. To a very remarkable degree it is free from the defects to be expected in such a book. It is written for instruction, not for edification, and in a spirit of fairness, not of extenuation. As the preface says, Mr. Dunning "has made no effort to minimize or to gloss over the differences that have arisen between the two peoples, the grounds

**Treaties and Agreements Affecting Canada in force between His Majesty and the United States of America with subsidiary Documents.* Ottawa. 1914. Pp. 301.

or causes for those differences or the errors of judgment that may have been committed in attempting to resolve them". Mr. Dunning is always willing, where necessary, to criticize the United States or to praise the attitude of Great Britain or Canada. From a dozen examples of his fairness we may quote the following paragraph on the Canadian election of 1911:

"The decisive factor in bringing about this abrupt reversal of Canadian policy was the spirit of nationality. Inept comments by prominent American statesmen on the situation during the electoral campaign were diligently interpreted in Canada to mean that the ready assent to reciprocity was a first deliberate step towards annexation. Again, as in 1891, the Canadian people declared for political independence in preference to economic ease, as they conceived that alternative to be placed before them. Nor did it lie in the mouths of the Americans to chide or reproach; for every argument, whether sound or merely silly, that was used in Canada to resist the demand for freer trade with the United States had been used with effect in the United States, in a dozen campaigns, to resist the demand for freer trade with Great Britain. The national spirit was producing in Canada the identical phenomena that had attended the growth of the United States to its magnificent estate of independence and power. Hence no bad blood was made by the failure of reciprocity" (pp. 340-341).

Or again, in discussing the failure of the fisheries treaty of 1888 negotiated by Mr. Chamberlain, he says:

"On account of the partisan political conditions prevailing, especially in the United States, the significance of every frictional episode was systematically exaggerated and the permanent diplomatic settlement of all the controversies was prevented" (p. 280).

The following comment on the Bering Sea negotiations may be commended to Mr. Ewart:

"The oft-reiterated complaint that Canadian interests were sacrificed through failure of the imperial government to make itself informed about them could have no place in connection with these incidents. On the contrary, the Americans manifested from time to time impatience and even stronger feeling because of the time lost, as they declared, by the care of the British Foreign Office to insure that its every step should receive the *visé* of the Dominion cabinet" (p. 288).

The style, though not lacking in occasional Americanisms, is on the whole easy and flowing, with frequent felicities. One or two small criticisms might be made. For instance, in 1848 the United States certainly made large additions to an already large territory, but they did not add 12,000,000 square miles to 18,000,000 already possessed (p. 139). In the account of twentieth century conditions we miss any mention of the International Joint Commission.

Lord Bryce's introduction is below the level of the rest of the book. It is simply untrue, in spite of Lord Bryce's frequent assertions, to say that the hundred years of peace are due to the common-sense of the people, if by that is meant the wisdom of the average voter. Again and again, as at such a time as the *Trent* affair, "the people" would have plunged the country into war. It was Seward and Abraham Lincoln, and still more Lord Lyons and the Prince Consort, who kept the peace by refusing to be guided by the shrieks of "the people".

W. L. GRANT

Even before the great war broke out the armaments of Europe were causing a longing consideration of the possibilities of disarmament. Renewed emphasis was laid on the fact that there are no armed forces on the Great Lakes of North America. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace republishes a report by the Hon. J. W. Foster in 1892 on *Limitation of Armament on the Great Lakes*,* while the World's Peace Foundation issues a pamphlet on the same agreement.† The two papers cover the same ground. The agreement sprang out of the danger that after the close of the war of 1812-14 heavy armaments would guard the frontier on each side. It was John Quincy Adams who negotiated the agreement with Lord Castlereagh, but since Richard Rush signed it for the United States and Charles Bagot for Great Britain it is known as the Rush-Bagot agreement. It is not technically a treaty, but, since it was formally approved by the Senate of the United States, it has all the sanctions of a treaty in that country and it is not less binding upon Great Britain. The treaty permits of limited armaments for each side—one armed vessel of not more than 100 tons on Lake Champlain and on Lake

**Limitation of Armament on the Great Lakes. Report of Hon. John W. Foster, Secretary of State, to the President of the United States, Dec. 7, 1892.* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). Washington, 1914. Pp. viii, 58.

†*The Anglo-American Agreement of 1817 for Disarmament on the Great Lakes.* By Charles H. Levermore. (World's Peace Foundation, Pamphlet series, vol. iv, no. 4). Boston, 1914. Pp. 28.

Ontario and two similar armed vessels, in all, on the other lakes. The text of this agreement and the correspondence which led to and followed it are given fully by Mr. Foster. The agreement can be cancelled by six months' notice from either side. More than once, especially in 1838 and following years, when there was rebellion in Canada, and during the American civil war, it has been in danger. The two pamphlets tell the story of these events. Happily the agreement remains in force—a reminder to the world that such a plan can be carried out effectively. A remark by Mr. Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, to Mr. Adams, the American Minister to London in 1816 is worth noting. Mr. Baring said "that he wished the British Government would give us Canada at once. It was . . . fit for nothing but to breed quarrels".

The Abbé Camille Roy publishes another volume of essays on French-Canadian literature.* None come within the scope of this REVIEW except a short paper on Jacques Viger, which appeared originally in the *Bulletin du Parler Français au Canada*. Viger was born at Montreal in 1787. He held a commission in the militia during the war of 1812 and took part in the unsuccessful attack on Sackett's Harbour in 1813. A long account of this engagement which he read to Bibaud would prove interesting, no doubt, but has never been published, and perhaps no longer exists. Viger is best known as an unwearied collector of historical or archaeological scraps. He transcribed from official documents, from private letters and manuscripts, and from circulars and other out-of-the-way printed material, whatever seemed to him of interest in connection with the history of the country. Bibaud made copious use of these materials in his *Bibliothèque Canadienne*. The unpublished portion is now in the library of Laval University.

**Nouveaux essais sur la littérature canadienne*. Par l' Abbé Camille Roy. Quebec: Imprimerie de l'Action Sociale. 1914. Pp. 392.

There have come into the possession of Dr. A. D. DeCelles some letters of Charles Ovide Perrault, a young French-Canadian lawyer and member of parliament who was killed in 1837 at St. Denis. These he has published, with comments, under the title *Lettres de 1835 et de 1836*.^{*} Perrault was in close touch with Papineau and the *patriote* leaders, and his letters, intimate and informal as they are, throw much light on the inner history of the years immediately preceding the rebellion. There is an interesting picture of one of Lord Gosford's evening parties. Both French-Canadians and English-Canadians were present; but "the two populations were distinct, and kept themselves like the waters of the St. Lawrence and of the Ottawa, they run in the same direction without mingling. We were all on one side, and they were on the other". Perrault gives an excellent picture of Gosford; the writer of the letters worships Papineau, and rails against those *patriotes* who refuse to follow his lead. Indeed, the chief value of the letters is in the light they throw on the relations between the Papineau wing of the *patriote* party and the recalcitrants led by Bédard and Debartzch. It is a pity the letters stop as they do in the spring of 1836; but such as they are they were well worth printing.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section III (vol. v): *United Canada*. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co. 1914. Pp. xi, 404.

"The period 1840-67," says Professor W. L. Grant in his admirable introduction to this volume of *Canada and its Provinces*, "saw the working out of responsible government and full liberty given to Canada to commit her own mistakes. In this period was laid the foundation of a new system of

^{*}*Lettres de 1835 et de 1836.* Par A. D. DeCelles. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 169-179.)

colonial policy to which federation added the superstructure". It will be seen immediately, therefore, that the period of the Union is one of the most important in Canadian history, and one of the most difficult to treat adequately. The writers are however, without exception, well qualified to deal with their subjects. The political history of the Union has been assigned to Professor J. L. Morison of Queen's University; the constitutional history to Professor Edward Kylie of the University of Toronto; the history of public finance to Mr. Duncan McArthur, to whose chapters on the history of Canada from 1763 to 1840 reference is made elsewhere; the economic history to Mr. Adam Shortt, the *doyen* of Canadian economists; the history of western exploration to Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee; Indian affairs to Mr. Duncan C. Scott, of the Department of the Interior; and the Post Office to Mr. William Smith.

The most conspicuous and, at the same time, the most provoking essay in the volume is Professor Morison's. It is written in a brilliant and suggestive vein; and for one who is familiar with the period with which it deals it will have great interest. But in those pedestrian details which one expects to find in a narrative of political history it is surprisingly lacking. Many readers will be perplexed by finding references to the "double shuffle" without any explanation of what that incident was. At times, too, Professor Morison's gift of insight fails him. Many who are by no means fervent admirers of Bishop Strachan will not agree with his damning estimate of that doughty ecclesiastic:

"Few figures bulk so largely as does Strachan's in modern Canadian history in comparison with their real ability. Born of a rude stock, and carrying with him to the grave the aggressive and unconciliatory temper of his Aberdonian ancestors, Strachan was the evil genius of church life in Canada He had changed religion into ecclesiasticism, and thought any trickery or intrigue sanctified if only it sought an ecclesiastical end" (p. 62).

Nor is his judgment upon George Brown much happier:

"Great as an editor and publicist (for Canadian journalism owes much to Brown's management of the *Globe*); great also as an agitator, Brown was one of the conspicuous failures of Canadian public life. He never learned moderation; and he never acted with that spirit of opportunism which raises itself to the level of a principle through its public usefulness" (p. 83).

Mr. Kylie's chapters on the constitutional history of Canada, while they lack the brilliance and vivacity of Professor Morison's essay, are no less admirable in their way. In the section dealing with the granting of responsible government, Mr. Kylie traverses much the same ground as Professor Morison: with regard to Bagot, both of them are most illuminating; but a doubt may be expressed as to whether either of them does justice to the views of Metcalfe. From the standpoint of strict logic, the views of Metcalfe and the Family Compact had a great deal more to be said for them than most people to-day realize. The most admirable parts of Mr. Kylie's essay, however, are those dealing with the change in the constitution of the Legislative Council and with the double majority principle. Nowhere else will these items of constitutional history be found so clearly and fully treated.

The economic history of Canada under the Union is especially important, largely because this period saw the repeal of the Navigation Acts, the inauguration of Free Trade in England, and the passing of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Mr. Shortt's chapter describing this important period is, as might have been expected, sound and authoritative. It is especially full with regard to Reciprocity. Of less general interest, but no less sound and useful, are Mr. Shortt's account of currency and banking during the period, and Mr. McArthur's review of the history of public finance.

The progress made in exploration in Canada from 1840 to 1867 is admirably epitomized by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. Sir John Franklin's last voyage and the discoveries of the Hudson's Bay Company men in the far North-West and in the Yukon, and some surveys of the West, together with some notable transcontinental journeys, such as that of Milton and Cheadle—all these are briefly described.

Lastly, the history of two departments of government in which radical changes took place during this period, the department of Indian Affairs and that of the Post Office, is

dealt with by Mr. Duncan Scott and Mr. William Smith respectively.

No review of the volume would be complete which omitted mention of Professor Grant's introductory essay, "The Union: General Outlines". In charm of style and depth of insight Professor Grant sets in this essay a pace for the other writers in the volume with which it must be confessed they do not always keep up. The illustrations are of the same excellent character as the illustrations in the other volumes.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section IV (vols. vi-viii): *The Dominion: Political Evolution.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xii, xii, x, 958.

Canada and its Provinces is not a book, it is a library of treatises on Canadian subjects. These three volumes on the political evolution of the country as a Dominion have a peculiar importance. The Dominion is not yet fifty years old, so that its history is that of an organism still working out the impulses which brought it into existence. Some of the original problems cannot yet be said to be satisfactorily solved, and new ones, such as those presented by the vast proportion of foreign immigration, are beginning to arise. A careful survey of the steps already taken would help to correct false notions as to the direction in which further advances may safely be made. About half of the first volume is devoted to the political history of Canada since Confederation. There are five sections, dealing with successive administrations. The survey thus concludes with the defeat of the Laurier government on the question of reciprocity with the United States. All the sections are by the same writer, Mr. John Lewis. The political history treated according to the above scheme is frankly a chronicle. It is clearly written, and the author shows complete famili-

arity with all parts of the story. But as he tells it, it seems to be little more than a record of party struggles, a long-drawn-out game of politics. There is no suggestion of political development, or of a rising tide of national feeling such as might be looked for in the history of the first half-century of a united people. In a new confederation of self-governing colonies the perennial problem of reconciling local interests with the requirements of a broader national outlook must have been faced more than once, and after nearly fifty years it must have made progress towards solution. We know that such is the case. But in this book no attempt is made to trace this progress. Manifestations of provincial self-assertion (such as the Manitoba School question) are duly chronicled as they occurred, but they are treated precisely in the same manner as any other party question occupying the attention of the gentlemen at Ottawa, such for instance as the "Redistribution of 1882", which is accorded a special heading and two pages of text, although it has absolutely no significance in the development of political events or even of political parties. History written in this fashion is for the old war-horses of party politics. But the true political history of Canada from Confederation is something different and is not to be found in this article.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to a section on "The Federal Constitution" by Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy, and another on "The Federal Government" by Sir Joseph Pope. Mr. Lefroy's exposition of the constitution is clear and well arranged. Of particular interest is his enumeration of the specific points interpreted by the courts in respect to the powers of legislation possessed by Dominion and provincial parliaments. No serious conflict of interests has ever arisen which the interpretation of the court could not terminate. As Mr. Lefroy well says, the British North America Act "is perhaps the greatest constructive feat which British statesmanship has ever accomplished". Sir Joseph Pope is an old and experienced civil servant, and his description of the powers and functions of the several elements in the government of Canada is very complete. It is, indeed, full

out of proportion to the other contents of the volumes, but in an encyclopaedic work like *Canada and its Provinces* an error on the side of exhaustiveness is pardonable.

In the second volume a number of subsidiary governmental functions are discussed, defence, finance, immigration, Indian affairs, the Post Office, and agriculture. The last section seems to be out of place, even though the title, "National Aid to the Farm", suggests a treatment of the subject as a government enterprise. This however hardly justifies the position of the section; we think the subject would have been more appropriately dealt with under the head of General Economic History, in Division V of the entire work. The other subjects are appropriate to this division, and are authoritative expositions. The discussion of "Dominion Finance" by Mr. J. M. Courtney and Professor Shortt is a concise statement of a highly technical subject. "Defence" is more fully discussed by Mr. C. F. Hamilton, and takes in the military organization of Canada since the outbreak of the war of 1812. "Immigration and Population", by Mr. W. D. Scott, the Superintendent of Immigration, is largely statistical, but it also includes sections on the immigration policy of Canada and the methods adopted to encourage immigration. Of rather doubtful value is the series of appraisals of the different races that make up the class of immigrants. "Indian Affairs", giving the history of the relations of the Dominion and its Indian wards, is excellently written by Mr. Duncan C. Scott, as is "The Post Office" by Mr. William Smith.

The whole of the third volume is taken up by the arbitrations that, happily for Canada, take the place of wars in the last hundred years of its history. The origin of many of these disputes and the settlement of some were long before Confederation, but for convenience sake the whole story from 1783 to the present time is related in this volume. The two great fishery arbitrations are first given by Mr. N. B. Wormwith. These concerned the North Atlantic coast fishery and the Bering Sea seal fishery. The share of Newfoundland in the former question lies outside the scope

of the work. It is clear from Mr. Wormwith's account that Canada had the stronger case in both instances, and in the Bering Sea arbitration Canada received even more than strict justice.

Mr. James White's account of the various boundary disputes with the United States fills the greater part of the volume. It is undoubtedly the most exhaustive and satisfactory statement of these transactions that has yet appeared. It was the fashion some years ago to treat all the boundary treaties as diplomatic defeats for Great Britain and to blame the ignorance, ineptitude or cowardice of English arbitrators or advocates for sacrifices of hypothetical Canadian territory. Mr. White's narrative, fortified by quotations from documents and speeches, ought to put an end to statements of that kind. He shows very clearly that in the course of the long negotiations in respect to the boundary between Nova Scotia and Maine, and the connected question of the southern boundary of the province of Quebec, the British case was most skilfully managed. Every possible advantage was taken of admissions by American statesmen, and the final decision secured by Lord Ashburton's negotiation was more advantageous to Canada than the arbitration award made by the King of the Netherlands in 1831 which the United States had protested on technical grounds and refused to accept. The northward extension of Maine between New Brunswick and Quebec is due, not to Lord Ashburton nor to any British or American advocate, but to the unfortunately precise wording of the treaty, which used the phrase "due north" as equivalent to "northward", and thus precluded the possibility of a line running northwestward from the St. Croix river to the Chaudière. The blame here, as Mr. White says, must fall on "the pedantry of a precisian in the office of the law officers or in the Colonial Office", who supposed that he was saying the same thing as "northward" but in more exact language.

In reviewing the award in the Alaska boundary case Mr. White concludes that the division of the islands in Portland Canal was undoubtedly a concession by Lord

Alverstone, not warranted by the evidence. We know that it was a surprise to the two Canadian members of the tribunal and that they protested strongly. The other question involved was the claim of the United States to an unbroken *lisière* following the winding of the coast in all bays and channels. The matter turned on the interpretation of the treaty between Great Britain and Russia in 1825. Mr. White says that a study of the correspondence and negotiations preceding the treaty "leads irresistibly to the conclusion that Great Britain intended to concede an unbroken coast-strip or *lisière*". But granting this, the width of the *lisière* as claimed by the United States was plainly excessive and the line of the award, though drawn everywhere nearer the coast than the line asked for by the United States, also concedes a wider strip than a strict geographical interpretation of the treaty would sanction. Nevertheless, in view of the composition of the tribunal, the three American representatives being of a political rather than a judicial turn of mind, it was inevitable that political considerations should prevail and that a compromise would be made. Probably Lord Alverstone obtained the best terms he could. Mr. White quotes Mr. F. C. Wade, a Canadian and one of the British counsel, who intimates that Lord Alverstone, having "come to an agreement with the United States Commissioners respecting the 'mountain boundary', was confronted by the Americans with a demand that he should either surrender the two small islands [in Portland Canal]—thus enabling them to win a diplomatic 'victory'—or see the whole negotiation fail". If the award excited indignation in Canada, it was not received with very great satisfaction in the western States, where the newspapers spoke of the American arbitrators in somewhat the same terms as the Canadian newspapers used towards Lord Alverstone.

Two internal boundary disputes are also included by Mr. White in his survey, namely, the Ontario-Manitoba boundary and the Labrador-Canada boundary. The former was decided by the Privy Council in 1884, the latter has not yet come up for decision.

Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart., his life and times.
By John Boyd. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1914. Pp. xxii, 440.

Georges-Etienne Cartier. Études par Arthur Dansereau, Benjamin Sulte, Elzéar Gérin, Mgr. Antoine Racine, suivies de Discours de G.-E. Cartier. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1914. Pp. 124

Georges-Etienne Cartier, homme d'état Canadien, 1814-1873. Par Charles Edouard Lavergne. Montreal: Langevin et L'Archevêque. 1914. Pp. 92

The proposed inauguration of a monument, in Montreal, to the memory of Sir George Etienne Cartier, has turned attention to the life and times of a strong man. When Cartier entered public life in 1848, the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had recently passed through political turmoil, first the rebellion and then the fight for the control by Parliament of public affairs. No man lent his influence with more earnestness than Cartier to establish a fair *modus vivendi* between the British and the French subjects of the Queen. The alliance between LaFontaine and Baldwin had, by about 1854, outlived its usefulness. Some of the Liberal leaders of Upper Canada had become too radical. It happened at the same time that the Tory leader MacNab and his friends were abating their prejudices against Lower Canada. A reconstruction of parties was inevitable. Cartier rose one day in the House to dispel all ambiguity on the conditions of the projected alliance between Conservatives and Liberals. "It has been reported to me," he said, "that our opponents, the Tories, are inclined to side with us in future. Well, if such is the case, I warn them that they must modify their views in many respects if they desire to co-operate with the Lower Canada Liberals in the government of this country". Such merging of forces is usually arranged behind the scenes before notice is given to the public. But Cartier was always outspoken, and spurned obscure ways. Long before he had chosen his motto, *Franc et sans dol*, his conduct had illustrated this sentiment. This

projected alliance with Sir John A. Macdonald, the new Conservative leader, lasted for more than twenty years and turned to the advantage of Upper and Lower Canada. The two men were thought by the public to be close personal friends, though this was hardly true. The alliance contributed largely to Sir John's success. He remained in power before 1867 through Cartier's influence, for Cartier always commanded a large majority in Lower Canada, while Macdonald was long in a minority in his own province.

The Cartiers had been tradespeople for generations, and Cartier's mind was practical. He devoted much of his energy to railway questions. The first charter of the Grand Trunk Railway passed through Parliament under his direction. The first Canadian Pacific charter came from his hands. He introduced the Bill in the House, in 1872, and prefaced his speech with the prophetic words: "*All aboard for the West*". The greatest task that fell to Cartier related to the proposed union in 1864 of the British North American provinces. Other leaders gave the plan deep attention, but their interest in it was small when compared with that of Cartier. Union would affect only the material interests of other provinces, but in Quebec, as Cartier saw, French-Canadian aspirations and ambitions were at stake. To protect these interests, he exacted from his colleagues, as a basis of union, the federal system. As John A. Macdonald declared in the House, it was to comply with Cartier's terms that a legislative union was not accepted.

Cartier conferred a great boon on the legal profession, and especially on the English-speaking population of Lower Canada, by bringing order into the chaos of the old French laws. With this in view, he had the existing legislation codified on the lines of the Code Napoléon, in lucid order and under well defined titles. His influence on law-making was great. Many statutes of Quebec still bear witness to his wisdom in dealing with the abolition of the seigniorial tenure, education, decentralization of justice, and so forth.

Following Cartier, step by step, Mr. Boyd draws a true picture of an energetic and far-sighted statesman. The

reader will find in these earnestly written pages a complete picture of the man and can form a just idea of the debt which Canada owes to the little Frenchman, or *bourgeois gentilhomme*, as Lord Wolseley once, though unfairly, styled him.

In connection with the proposed inauguration of a monument to Cartier, there has been issued a volume made up of several articles from the pen of Messrs. Dansereau, Benjamin Sulte, and the late Elzéar Gérin. Mr. Dansereau's paper presents a clear and deep conception of the part that Cartier played in Canadian politics. Of all the men now living who have known Cartier, Dansereau is the best informed. He became editor of *La Minerve*, Cartier's organ, in 1865, when the French-Canadian chieftain was at his best, and followed him to his last day. In his concise and masterly essay, Mr. Dansereau defines the particular and special rôle of Cartier in Canadian history. He lays stress on one important point, unnoticed by other writers. In the time of Papineau and LaFontaine political life in Lower Canada proceeded at random, without any definite direction. Cartier rendered his countrymen the great service of pointing out to them a clear line of conduct to be followed. After a long and skilful training at his hands they came to understand parliamentary government "*à l'anglaise*".

Mr. Sulte, who was Cartier's private secretary for a number of years, depicts the head of the old Militia Department at work in his official capacity; he shows us his peculiarities, his capacity for work, his courage in trying times and his constant cheerfulness when others stood by in gloom. Sulte's article is replete with interesting details. A reprint follows of a clever article by the late Elzéar Gérin, a prominent journalist in his lifetime, written at the time of Cartier's death, and the volume winds up with the funeral oration delivered by Bishop Racine, in the Quebec cathedral, at Cartier's obsequies.

The *brochure* by Charles Edouard Lavergne, is a brief sketch of Cartier's career. It outlines what he did for

Canada, and is well suited for students desirous of obtaining a general knowledge of Cartier and his time.

A. D. DECELLES

Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart. London: Cassell and Company. 1914. Pp. viii, 414.

Sir Charles Tupper, who is now ninety-three years old, is probably the only survivor of those who played a leading part in 1864 and the following years in bringing about the federation of Canada. He is certainly an amazing man with a mind still vigorous even at advanced age. The volume of his *Recollections* is a ponderously serious work, with no touch of piquancy, no striking delineation of character, no descriptions of the historical scenes in which Sir Charles has taken part. He was, for instance, the guest of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos at Stowe, but has not a word of comment upon the magnificence of that historic place. Perhaps he knows his own limitations as a writer; at any rate he gives a plain narrative and introduces into it official papers and review articles. If the book is not literature, it contains at least the materials for history.

In successive chapters Sir Charles Tupper tells the story of the principal movements in which he had a part. There is first of all a long account of the movement for the federation of Canada. Dr. Tupper (he practised medicine for some time) was leader of the party in Nova Scotia which stood for union with Canada, while Joseph Howe opposed the movement. Both were determined, capable men, but quite clearly Tupper had the greater tenacity of purpose and political tact. Howe was resolved that Nova Scotia should withdraw from the federation, since it had been included without the consent of the people. He told Tupper that he had eight hundred men in every county in Nova Scotia who would take an oath not to pay taxes to the federal government. Instead of fighting Howe, Tupper reasoned with him. He pointed out the injury to Nova

Scotia of a struggle against federation. As a practical politician he offered Howe influence and office under the federal government. In the end Howe yielded and took office and, by so doing, lost the confidence of many of his former supporters. Nova Scotia heard little more of the agitation for repeal, and Tupper's policy triumphed.

The next phase in Tupper's career related to the Riel rising in Manitoba. For family and not political reasons he went to Fort Garry when the trouble was acute in 1869 and with great courage made his way to Riel's presence. He had, however, no political mandate; but his narrative of these experiences furnishes some material for the story of what occurred.

The next period relates to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He was Minister of Railways and had to do with the letting of the contracts. He had had some slight share in bringing British Columbia into the federation and this made him familiar with the railway problem. We have the story of the fall of Sir John Macdonald's government in 1873. Sir Charles Tupper declares that there was no "Pacific Scandal" but rather a "Pacific Slander". Posterity will hardly accept this verdict, for, at best, the sordid story of the fall of Sir John Macdonald's government in 1873 shows a low state of political morality in Canada. It was certainly not avoiding the appearance of evil to accept gifts of money of unprecedented magnitude from persons who hoped to secure through the political power of the recipients, Macdonald and his friends, the right to build the great railway. Sir Charles Tupper himself tells us now, indeed, that Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of the time, was so shocked by the charges that he demanded Macdonald's resignation. Tupper was no half-hearted supporter of his leader. He went direct to the Governor-General, and told him that if the Queen herself should treat a minister as he was treating Macdonald she might lose her throne. He adds that Lord Dufferin, at his advice, cabled to the Colonial Office for an opinion, with the result that he withdrew his demand upon Macdonald.

Tupper's next campaign was that for Protection in Canada. He claims that it was he who coined the phrase "National Policy", which means in Canada Protection, and he remained an ardent Protectionist. Whatever others may think, he is certain that Britain will adopt Protection to her own lasting good.

Later stages in Sir Charles Tupper's career are only touched upon. For a long time he was Canadian High Commissioner in London, but he tells us little of his experiences. He took part in a number of negotiations with foreign countries. He was a colleague of Mr. Chamberlain in treating with the United States on the fisheries question. He took the chief part in negotiating for Canada a commercial treaty with France. For a brief period he was Prime Minister of Canada and it was under his leadership that the Conservative party went down before the assaults of the Liberals led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In recent years Sir Charles has been a strenuous advocate of the closer federation of the British Empire. He never shows any doubt as to his own insight and has no despair of any cause which he has once espoused. He is not afraid of speaking of himself as a "grand old statesman", and of his son as one of the ablest men in the House of Commons. He abounds in courage, confidence and optimism; and at ninety-three still shows the qualities which earned for him in younger days the title of a "war-horse". The book has a few misprints, a few errors; but it is well documented and it may be taken as an accurate, if not vivid, outline of its author's achievements, as he reads them. The Liberals, of course, get an occasional hard knock; but none the less there is a kindly tolerance in the old statesman which is pleasing.

The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona. By W. T. R. Preston. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart. 1914. Pp. 324.

The Life of Lord Strathcona. By W. R. Richmond.
London and Glasgow: William Collins & Company.
1914. Pp. 246.

In the career of Donald Smith we have the supreme example of what can be accomplished in an individualistic and under-governed community by one persevering Scot. Canada is in a measure the creation of persevering Scots and is one of the most individualistic countries in the world. Lord Strathcona's career was therefore entirely characteristic of Canada—as typical as the apples and wheat sent overseas—and it was fitting that his death should have been the signal for the publication of many biographies.

The motives of Mr. Preston's book are a little difficult to determine. His intention was most certainly not to glorify his subject. Indeed Lord Strathcona's career is treated with a frankness which many have regarded as a serious breach of good taste. The chapter headings are almost melodramatic: "Intriguing for a Charter"; "Corrupt Practices"; "Unsuccessful Efforts at Prostitution of the Press"; "A Successful Cabal". But it is wrong to regard the book as a piece of gratuitous defamation of character. Mr. Preston manifestly regards Lord Strathcona as having been a most sinister influence in Canadian life, but he does not hesitate to acknowledge his many good qualities, and if the "biography" is in reality a long diatribe against the methods of Strathcona one can feel that the author's invective is levelled rather at Strathcona as the type of long-headed Scotsmen making money out of chaos than at Donald Smith himself. For all its warmth of expression and the definite aim of its blows, the book is singularly impersonal, and of course in dealing with such a subject the impersonal is the correct attitude. The ethics of a single career should not concern Canadians unduly. If they can acquiesce in a social system which makes millionaires possible, they must not quarrel with the methods by which they are made.

It is probably true to say that no millionaire has had such a romantic life as Lord Strathcona. "Self-made men"

there have been in plenty; too often they cause us to regret that no one had been allowed to assist in their "making". Many magnates have attained their goal by simple adherence to the copy-book virtues of frugality and thrift. But there are few who have achieved their aim—call it sordid if you will—by the guidance of a really great imagination. In spite of himself, Mr. Preston does full justice to the romance of Strathcona's career and the vision of greatness which always haunted him. Self-centred and ruthless though Donald Smith may have been, we see in these pages a far-sighted, cool-headed adventurer who could use caution and daring with equal ease to gain his ends, and who possessed in a remarkable degree that amazing bundle of qualities—almost the recipe of success—which the Italians call *virtù*.

Mr. Preston attempts to tell us "what Donald A. Smith has cost Canada" and expresses the price of his career in dollars and cents—the subsidies in cash and in land paid to the Canadian Pacific Railway, to the nationalization of which Smith was the chief opponent. This presents a secular question of debate. In Canada the problem of state-ownership is peculiarly difficult. The antipathy to government control is deeply rooted. The country was settled by immigrants who left Great Britain in the heyday of *laissez-faire* principles, just as the Australian settlers brought to their new home the socialistic doctrines then in their first popularity. The Australian Commonwealth has naturally moved towards state-control, while the former has remained true to the individualistic idea. Again, Canadian life from the time when the forests were cleared to the present when the prairies are being broken up, has demanded great personal energy. It is surely a tenable thesis that the development of Canada, for the present at all events, calls for more vigorous initiative than that which could be supplied in a government service. The Canadian Pacific Railway, although not the altruistic enterprise that its directors may sometimes imagine it to be, has at least performed the service of opening up the West efficiently. On the other hand, it may be objected, it has given us many millionaires, but

we may ask what would have happened if the government had ruled the railway. It may not be cynical to answer that the West would have been opened rather less efficiently and that the millionaires would have been produced elsewhere. Canada is a very young community. It is doubtful if the Canadian administration, deprived of the stimulus of competition, is yet capable of handling such an undertaking as the building of the Canadian Pacific. It is even more doubtful if it was so in the "sixties" and "seventies". The nationalization of railways and other great public utilities will come in time. The assumption of such responsibilities will greatly steady the government machine. Financial *condottieri* such as Lord Strathcona will disappear, and there will be a more efficient if a less picturesque Canada. Until then these men are performing a national service, however much they may gain for themselves. In the meantime, such books as Mr. Preston's will have achieved their end if they point out the evils of an undisciplined society, while at the same time dealing magnanimously with the men who have seized opportunities as yet unappreciated by the people as a whole.

Mr. Preston's book is well written and is a distinctly important contribution to Canadian biography. Although his position in the matter of the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway will be sharply challenged, yet the expression of his point of view is in itself most valuable.

Mr. Richmond's "life" is avowedly but a popular account of the career of his "hero"—Lord Strathcona is a "hero" to Mr. Richmond—and includes many digressions into the history of the North-West which are suited to the purpose of the book. Despite some eccentricities of style, the work will be useful in popularizing the story of a most interesting figure in Canadian life.

C. V. MASSEY

Lord Bryce has an article on his old teacher and friend, Goldwin Smith.* The latter's great intellectual gifts receive full justice. As a talker and a lecturer he made his mark early. Lord Bryce assigns him a place with Newman, Ruskin and Frederic Myers as one of the foremost modern masters of English prose. But the extraordinary fixity of all his opinions made him an advocate of defunct policies while his contemporaries were still learning and modifying their opinions in the light of fresh knowledge and experience.

"His opinions on history, as well as on politics, had crystallized long before he was fifty, and though he added much to his store of knowledge, his views underwent no development."

The practice of Canadian political leaders in publishing collections of their speeches is to be commended. Speeches furnish a unique record of the political problems of the speaker's time. Sir George Foster† has long been in public life. He is the only member of the present cabinet who served under Sir John Macdonald, now nearly twenty-five years ago, and is regarded as perhaps the best debater in the present House of Commons. The chief speeches in this volume relate to the Imperial Conferences, imperial preference, naval defence, and reciprocity. It would be flattery to say that the speeches have high literary quality. They are, however, lucid and effective for their purpose. The author is never obscure, and occasionally there are striking clauses. Sir George Foster says, for instance, to those who wish to hurry on Imperial Union:

"You cannot hurry an oak tree. Plant the acorn: there your power ends. It is God's wind, God's rain, and the natural forces that will develop the oak from the acorn. And you cannot, systematically, machine-like, turn out nations and empires. They grow, just as all things in nature grow" (p. 29).

Sir George Foster is in active politics and of course he strikes hard blows at times. Sir Wilfrid Laurier comes in for severe criticism in regard to naval defence. Still the tone is not violently partisan. The speeches support the policy of

**Goldwin Smith: a reminiscence.* By James Bryce. (North American Review, April, 1914, pp. 513-527.)

†*Canadian Addresses.* By the Hon. George E. Foster. Edited by Arnold Winterbotham. Toronto: Bell & Cockburn. 1914. Pp. xxiv, 324.

trade preference within the Empire, of union for defence, and of the evolution of completer organic union by the development of the Imperial Conference. Of political independence for Canada Sir George Foster will not hear. He thinks that with Canada independent a movement for union with the United States would speedily follow.

"How easy it would be to get up a little revolution in the Yukon and send a petition to the people of the United States for recognition and defence. Then the recognition would come and Canada would be defenceless against her mighty neighbour. Such a position would be absolutely intolerable. Independence for Canada means the shadow of an overmastering power in whose heart of hearts is embodied [imbedded?] the idea that it is her destiny to possess the whole of the North American continent" (p. 117).

He would abolish the word "emigrant" as applied to those who pass from one part of the Empire to another.

"When a man from Nova Scotia goes to British Columbia he is not called an emigrant. He has simply moved. What reason is there in the world, when a man goes from Scotland to Australia or to Canada, that he should not be put in the same class as the man who has simply moved and not emigrated?" (p. 192).

*The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs** continues to record the events and discussions of the year. The volume for 1913 gives great space to the Naval Bill introduced by the Borden government at Ottawa, with copious extracts from speeches both in and out of parliament on both sides. The activity of the different departments of the government is also elaborately reviewed. Nor do the provincial governments receive less attention. In earlier years when the "public affairs" of Canada were not so numerous, the plan adopted of including debates and extracts from newspapers had great advantages, enabling the reader to follow the course of formation of public opinion. But the bulk of the recent volumes is alarming, and calls for some restrictions either of subject or of method of presentation.

The character of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* renders it difficult to review. It contains innumerable biographical notes, bibliographies of individual authors,

**The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1913*. By J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company. [1914.] Pp. 766, 70.

family genealogies, and answers to correspondents. There are very few articles of even moderate length. The Rev. P. V. Charland, it is true, contributes a paper, entitled *Notre Dame de Québec: Le Nécrologe de la Crypte*, which runs through several issues; but it is nothing more than an annotated list of the names of those who have been buried in the church of Notre Dame at Quebec since 1652. Mr. E. Z. Massicotte prints an *Inventaire des Cartes et Plans de l'Ile et de la Ville de Montréal* which runs to a number of pages; and the editors print a French translation of the Latin biography of *Catherine Tegahkouita*, an Indian saint, written by a Canadian missionary named Pierre Chollenec in 1715. Apart from these contributions, the articles are of a fragmentary character. But they are packed with a great variety of information; and any one interested in the history of the French race in Canada, for it is with this that the *Bulletin* mainly concerns itself, will find in them much of interest and value.

In *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Mr. E. Z. Massicotte continues his investigations into the early history of Montreal. Under the heading of *La Population de Montréal en 1673*, he prints a "Rolle des habitants de l'isle de Montréal" which he has unearthed in the archives of the Montreal courthouse. The list of names is annotated; and a number of other documents are printed having reference to the same subject. In a short paper entitled *Quel a été le successeur de Monsieur de Maisonneuve?*, he clears up an obscure point in Montreal history; and in *Le premier instituteur laïque de Montréal*, he gives some biographical details about François La Barnarde, Sieur de La Prairie, who founded in 1683 the first private school in Montreal. A little known conflict between the settlers in Montreal and the Iroquois is described by Mr. Massicotte in a paper entitled *Héros oubliés—le combat de la Rivière des Prairies en 1690*. Copious biographical details about those who fell are supplied; and in an appendix are printed the documents on which the narrative rests. A note on *Pierre*

Prudhomme, compagnon de La Salle is accompanied by a transcript of the *contrat de concession* by which La Salle transferred a fief in the western country. But perhaps the most interesting of Mr. Massicotte's contributions from the standpoint of general history is the *Protêt des marchands de Montréal contre une assemblée des seigneurs, tenue en cette ville le 21 Février, 1766*. The protest was drawn up, with only slight differences, in both French and English; and was signed by both French and English merchants. It is valuable as affording a list of the principal merchants of 1766; and as showing their attitude toward the seigneurs, the Executive Council, and the Governor, General Murray. All Mr. Massicotte's papers add to the sum of our knowledge of Canadian history; and it is to be hoped that he will collect them some day, and publish them together. Work of a similar sort has been done by Mr. O. M. H. Lapalice. His *Compte rendu du premier marguillier de l'église Notre Dame en 1657* is a transcription of the account-book of the first churchwarden of Notre Dame in Montreal; and his *Régistre du fort de la Presque Isle* is a list of names abstracted from one of the rare registers of the fort at Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie. An account of *The Original Settlement of the Township of Brompton*, by Mr. R. W. McLachlan, is based on documents found in the Montreal court house archives. The admirable feature about *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* is the fact that it confines itself almost entirely to printing new and original material.

The *Canadian Magazine* for 1914 contains so many articles relating to Canadian history and Canadian affairs that it is possible to notice only the more important. In most cases, the articles are popular in character, and make no real contribution to the sum of our knowledge. An exception is Mr. A. Gordon Dewey's *The Beginnings of British Commerce at Montreal*. This paper, which is based on unpublished material in the Canadian Archives, is an admirable picture of the growth of English enterprise in Montreal during the first six years of British rule—a chapter

in Canadian economic history hitherto neglected. Sir William Johnson's name however is misspelt "Johnston" (p. 8). In *When De Salaberry was Worsted*, Mr. Francis A. Carman tells, from materials in the De Salaberry papers, the story of Sir George Prevost's attempt to rob the victor of Châteauguay of the honour due him. Mr. Charles S. Blue's *Canada's Coast-guards and Privateers* is a continuation of the history of the Canadian navy begun by the same writer in his paper on *The Wooden Walls of Canada*, reviewed by us last year. The former paper dealt with the creation of miniature navies on the lakes; this paper deals with what Mr. Blue with some humour, describes as Canada's "coast armadas". A great deal of research is incorporated in these papers. In *Why Hearne Surrendered*, Mr. R. J. Fraser attempts to explain the surrender of Fort Prince of Wales to the French. Relying on some Hudson's Bay Company papers, dated 1820, found in the possession of a half-breed at White River, Mr. Fraser traces the surrender to a mutiny among Hearne's men; but he does not adduce his evidence nor attempt to establish its value or authenticity. Mr. W. S. Wallace reviews recent contributions to the subject of the Norse voyages to America in *New Light on the Vinland Voyages*; and he describes the migration of the American Tories into Canada proper after the American Revolution in *The Overland Loyalists*. Mr. Justice Riddell, in *A Patriot General*, tells the story of Thomas Jefferson Sutherland, one of the filibusters who troubled the Canadian border in 1838. An account of the life of William Lyon Mackenzie is contained in Mr. E. J. Hathaway's *William Lyon Mackenzie in Toronto*; but it contains nothing new, and no attempt is made to estimate Mackenzie's place in Canadian history. Another biographical paper is Mr. J. E. Wetherell's *John Galt: Founder of Cities*. A series of papers throwing some light on the social life of Toronto half a century ago is Mrs. Forsyth Grant's *Bygone Days in Toronto*. A brief sketch of the Oregon dispute is found in Mr. Harold Sand's *Fifty-Four Forty or Fight*. Mr. G. G. S. Lindsey's *Self-Government in Canada* is a popular account of the development of respon-

sible government in Canada; and Mr. George Clarke Holland's *The House Impregnable* is an essay on the Canadian Senate. In Mr. Beckles Willson's *Louisbourg To-Morrow* is contained a description of that historic fortification, and a plea for its preservation. The *Canadian Magazine* has attained its twenty-first year of publication; and the occasion is celebrated by the publication of an article by Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun entitled *After Twenty-One Years*. Never, it may be said, has the *Canadian Magazine* reached a higher level than it reaches to-day.

The *University Magazine* contains several thoughtful articles on current Canadian topics. The burning question of how to deal with the immigrants is discussed very seriously by Mr. W. J. Brown, whose paper *Immigration and Agriculture* is a strong plea for good farming and more farmers. The wholesale immigration encouraged by the Dominion government and assisted by the great companies is resulting in a most disquieting growth of a foreign urban population which congregates in slums. The growth of urban population in Canada is actually progressing at a greater rate than it is in the United States, although Canada is supposed to be *par excellence* the country of farming opportunities. Mr. J. S. Woodsworth in *Some Aspects of Immigration* also attacks the subject from a somewhat different angle. *Copyright in Canada*, by Mr. J. H. Moss, is a lucid account of the changes in copyright law and the present state of the law in Canada. By an Act passed in 1911 Great Britain swept away all the accumulation of past enactments and placed herself squarely in accord with other European countries on the question. But that Act expressly does not extend to Canada, and Canada is therefore still under a British Act of 1842 with subsequent partial amendments. A new Canadian Act embodying the provisions of the British Act of 1911 is recommended by Mr. Moss. Principal Peterson's article *Military Training at the University* shows what slight progress had been made up to April, 1914, in that direction. The war has produced great changes in this

respect, some of which no doubt will become part of a permanent arrangement. In *International Coöperation* Mr. William Smith continues his studies of postal arrangements in Canada. Professor MacMechan's paper on *William Greenwood* is the only strictly historical article that appeared during the year. It is a slight story, founded on original material, of a Nova Scotian fisherman who during the American Revolution earned an honest (?) living by smuggling escaped prisoners from Halifax to the United States, returning with shiploads of food for himself and his fellow-British. The connivance of the American authorities at this traffic is easy to understand. "A hamlet in Nova Scotia," concludes Mr. MacMechan, "bears the name of this humble patriot".

Queen's Quarterly for 1914 contains several important papers which are reviewed elsewhere. A paper embodying the results of some original research, to appear later in a volume of documents concerning the Clergy Reserves question, is Mr. J. Powell Laycock's *The Puzzle of the Canada Clergy Reserves*. The object of the paper is to determine just what Pitt and his colleagues meant by the phrase "Protestant Clergy" in the Constitutional Act. Mr. Laycock comes to the conclusion that the phrase was left deliberately ambiguous in order that it might be interpreted in the future "as the exigency of the circumstances might require". Mr. W. L. Grant attacks Mr. J. S. Ewart's *View of Canadian History* in an admirable controversial style; and Mr. Ewart replies attacking *Professor Grant's View of John S. Ewart*, in a spirit no less friendly.

United Empire, the publication of the Royal Colonial Institute, has a few papers on matters exclusively Canadian, ranging from *The Economic effect of the Panama Canal on Western Canada*, by F. B. Vrooman, to *Sport on the Pacific Coast* by Sir Henry Seton-Karr. The former points out that the significance to Canadian trade of the Panama Canal is that it will inevitably draw towards Canadian ports on

the Pacific much of the exports that now move eastward to the Atlantic ports. He goes so far as to say that "two-thirds of the future products of Canada are destined to be tributary to the western sea". The argument is well set out, and leads to his conclusion that Vancouver must be provided with docks and harbour facilities on a tremendous scale. A paper by E. Cunningham Craig on *The Oil-fields of Canada* relates chiefly to Alberta. In the series *Master-builders of Greater Britain* Canada is represented by Frontenac. Some of the papers of general imperial scope have a direct bearing on Canada, such as *Timber resources of the Empire*, by J. Watson Grice, from which it appears that Canada stands at present third in the sources of supply in the world, Russia and the United States being first and second respectively. But in Russia the annual cut is less than the growth, whereas both Canada and the United States use more than the growth. The later monthly numbers of *United Empire* are largely taken up with the war, and the share of it borne or to be borne by the Dominions.

The *Revue Canadienne* for 1914 has, as usual, an excellent historical fare to offer its readers. By far the most important item in its contents is the *Lettres de Jacques Viger à Madame Viger* (1813), with the introduction by Mr. Emile Chartier. The letters are only six in number; but most of them are of some length, and contain a diary of Viger's movements during the spring and summer of 1813, when he was serving as a captain in De Salaberry's Voltigeurs. They are accompanied by a number of sketches and plans drawn by Viger during the campaign, which possess great value; and the text itself throws light occasionally on the military operations. The description of the attack on Sackett's Harbour is especially valuable, as Viger defends the course taken by Prevost on that occasion. Other articles are of less importance. The writer who uses the name of "Laure Conan" concludes the sketch of *Pierre Boucher*, begun in the previous volume. Mr. Benjamin Sulte contributes, under the vague title of *Notes d'Histoire*, some details regarding the history

of Canada from 1642 to 1645. Judge L. K. Prud'homme writes on *Les premiers Voyageurs vers le Nord-Ouest*; but his paper is merely a sketch, and contains nothing new. The same writer tells, at some length, the story of the life of *Sir Joseph Dubuc*, the late Chief Justice of Manitoba. In *La Colonie de Rapatriement*, Mr. C. Edmond Chartier describes the history of the townships of Ditton, Chesham, and Emberton on the New Hampshire border, and their colonization by French settlers after Confederation; the chapters which make up the sketch depict an incident in the Gallicization of the Eastern Townships. Mr. Lionel Groulx, in *La Constitution Fédérative de 1867*, analyses the federal agreement which bore fruit in the British North America Act: he regards it, however, too exclusively from the French-Canadian point of view, and he is wrong in saying that the French and English languages are on an equal footing all over Canada (p. 396). The September number is wholly given over to the celebration of the centenary of Sir George Cartier, and consists of a series of papers by various writers.

La Nouvelle France contains very little relating to Canadian history. By far the most important paper is that by the Rev. Odoric M. Jouve, entitled *Une page inédite d'histoire canadienne*. This contains the text of an unpublished *relation* of the Récollet Denis Jamet, dated July 15, 1615, found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The *relation*, which is copiously annotated, does not contain anything of startling importance, but it is a real addition to the sources of early Canadian history. The Abbé L. Lindsay continues his biography of Dom Urbain Guillet, *Un précurseur de la Trappe du Canada*. The Abbé J. A. Brosseau writes on the future of the French-Canadians in the West (*L'Avenir des Canadiens-Français dans l'Ouest*): on the ground that the French race in Canada doubles every twenty-six years, the author believes that in a century and a half there will be 192,000,000 French-Canadians in Canada. Two articles on *Notre Dame de Québec* are by the Rev. P. V. Charland.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

I. Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

La Géographie de Terre-Neuve. Par Robert Perret. Paris: E. Guilmoto. 1913. Pp. vi, 374.

Newfoundland: a study in regional geography. By Arthur Silva White. (Scottish Geographical Magazine, March 1914, pp. 113-127.)

The monograph on Newfoundland by Mr. Robert Perret is a comprehensive treatise of the most modern kind. The author is equipped with all the auxiliary learning of the geographer—geology, botany, zoology, oceanography, meteorology. He has used the scientific observations of earlier writers in all these departments, and in addition he has made his own during a summer visit in the course of which he carried out expeditions to various parts of the island.

The account of the discovery and early voyages is an excellent summary of the conclusions come to in recent years by those who have given prolonged study to the subject. The author suggests that Cape Race was really so named by Breton sailors, but the appropriateness of the word *raz*, level or full, is not so obvious as to make that derivation certain or preferable to the Italian *raso*. One of the best chapters is that on climatic conditions. The author makes the criticism that records taken at the stations of the Canadian Meteorological Service should be published in full, since mean temperatures and averages of winds have little significance in a country where rapid variations of wind are the rule and extremes of temperature common.

Mr. Perret does not think highly of the agricultural possibilities of Newfoundland. He goes so far as to say that "il n'y a d'agriculture possible que sur le pourtour de la baie Saint-Georges". The character of the soil, where known, as well as the geological formation, is not favourable, nor is the superabundant fog in the regions near the sea. The mineral wealth of the island is varied and moderately great. Unfortunately coal of good quality is scarce, so that most

of the ore has to be shipped elsewhere. In short, Mr. Perret sums up, "Terre-Neuve est une île vouée aux industries purement extractives; elle exporte tout ce qu'elle produit et elle achète tout ce qu'elle consomme". But after all it is in the surrounding seas that the real wealth of Newfoundland lies. The chapter on "Exploitation de la Mer" gives the history of the Newfoundland and Banks fisheries at considerable length and concludes with an interesting analysis and discussion of the present statistics of production.

In his chapter on "Colonisation" the author practises polemics rather than historical narration. Among other things he is much concerned to assert priority of discovery and settlement for the French. Jacques Cartier's landing in St. Catherine's Bay, however, can hardly be deemed colonization or even taking possession. The fishing-fleets had long previously visited the shores, but settlement had been by common consent unattempted. The supposed colony of Basques from Guyenne on the south coast in 1604 is not supported by evidence. Altogether Mr. Perret's conception of historical probability is peculiar, if his ingenuity is great.

The sketch of Newfoundland by Mr. A. S. White is so brief that it can only summarize the main features in the geography, history, and economic development of the island. It is, however, accurate and comprehensive.

In the Selden Society's volume entitled *Select Charters of Trading Companies** is included the charter of the Newfoundland Company, dated May 2, 1610. The original grant to Sir Humphrey Gilbert was in 1578, but nothing in the way of settlement had been done under it, so that in 1610 the new charter could truly set out that the country "remaineth so vacant and not actually possessed and inhabited by any Christian or any other whomsoever". It was under this charter that Guy undertook to colonize the island, with

**Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707*. Edited for the Selden Society by Cecil T. Carr. (Publications of the Selden Society, vol. xxviii.) London: Bernard Quaritch. 1913. Pp. cxxxvi, 322.

what ill-success is known to students of Newfoundland history.

The most interesting part of the volume by Cuthbert Lee on his experience in Labrador* is the introductory chapter by Dr. Grenfell, who expounds his views as to the future of the country. Neither agriculture nor minerals, he thinks, can ever become a main source of wealth. But his success in establishing a reindeer farm leads him to believe that Labrador may become a vast meat-producing territory. In 1908 three hundred reindeer were transported from Lapland, and at the end of five years the herd numbered twelve hundred. Not only reindeer but wild-fowl might be domesticated and bred for food purposes. Fur farms have been shown to be profitable in Prince Edward Island, and the same industry could be established in Labrador where the rigorous climate will ensure a good quality of fur. Mr. Lee describes the benefits to the country from the establishment of co-operative stores and from the exclusion of whisky. He minimizes the religious or missionary side of Dr. Grenfell's work, which he regards as essentially directed towards material progress and improved sanitary measures. This is to overlook entirely the motive of all Dr. Grenfell's efforts, and would hardly be accepted by Dr. Grenfell himself.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section VII (vols. xiii and xiv): *The Atlantic Provinces.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xxiv, 700.

"On a scale hitherto unparalleled and with fidelity to truth the Associates have set forth 'the record and the picture' of the life and progress of the Canadian people." This claim which is made in the publishers' announcement of

**With Dr. Grenfell in Labrador.* By Cuthbert Lee. New York: The Neale Publishing Company. 1914. Pp. 158

Canada and its Provinces is fully substantiated in that part of the work devoted to the Atlantic Provinces. The several contributors to this section have risen to the high dignity of their task. In a vast co-operative achievement of this nature it is not to be expected that a uniform standard of excellence could be maintained throughout. But, generally speaking, these volumes rank with the best of their predecessors, and provide a narrative whose authority, impartiality and scope will long entitle it to rank as the supreme secondary source for the history of the Maritime Provinces.

Volume xiii opens with a short illuminating introduction from the pen of the editor of the section, Dr. Andrew MacPhail. In a very few pages Dr. MacPhail gives a masterly indication of the essential unity which underlies the history of the Atlantic Provinces, and does so by skilfully marshalling and correlating the conclusions arrived at by the writers who follow him.

The tracing of the chequered story of Acadia prior to the Treaty of Utrecht is entrusted to Archdeacon Raymond, and in his hands loses none of its picturesque setting, as witness his account of Champlain's "Order of the Good Time" and of Madame de la Tour's defence of the fort at St. John against her husband's enemy Charnisay. The original sources for the period are used with discrimination, and the record of exploration and settlement, of feudal strife and conflicting claims, of dispossession by the English and reconquest by the French is set out with the simplicity of true art. Another contribution from the same pen deals with the history of New Brunswick from the beginning of the English occupation in 1758 to Confederation. How the "continental" as distinguished from the "peninsular" part of Nova Scotia was kept for Britain during the period of colonial revolt is interestingly told, and this is followed by a particularly valuable account of Loyalist immigration—the supreme factor in the moulding of New Brunswick's history, leading to its erection into a separate colony in 1784, and contributing the chief formative influence on its subsequent development in the political, ecclesiastical, educational, and indus-

trial spheres. In the latter part of this contribution Dr. Raymond's narrative is practically annalistic in arrangement. The personality of Governor Thomas Carleton and the distinctive political prepossessions of the "Family Compact" or "close" Council which held sway under him and his immediate successors, impart perhaps a certain natural cohesion to the record. One cannot but feel, however, that the author might with advantage have grouped his wealth of material under a more fully developed topical presentation. The story of development in the political and constitutional spheres loses much of its continuity through the constant insertion of paragraphs dealing year by year with such subjects as industrial development, immigration, epidemic visitations, road-making, and fires in forest and town.

In two separate contributions, very well written, Mr. MacMechan traces the general history of Nova Scotia from 1713 to 1867. He displays both the loving enthusiasm of the local historian, and that breadth of view which distinguishes the trained student of general history. He has laid under full contribution the notable collection of original sources housed in the provincial building at Halifax, though it would be interesting to know if in forming his conclusions on the Acadian question he has taken into account the evidence of certain documents hitherto little known and shortly to be published under the auspices of the Government of Nova Scotia. Mr. MacMechan carefully describes the makeshift administration maintained at Port Royal from 1713 to 1749 and does full justice both to the character and achievements of Governor Mascarene, and also to the difficulties with which he and his predecessor Armstrong were faced. He supports the traditional historical view of the status of the Acadians and their treatment by the government in the period prior to the expulsion, adding some fresh evidence in its favour. His account of the imperial reasons for the founding of Halifax and for the "Expulsion" will prove both convincing and attractive to the student of general history. The early life of the capital provides Mr. MacMechan with a peculiarly congenial theme, and the picture

he gives us of eighteenth century Halifax is drawn with sympathy, humour and fine descriptive power. The same qualities mark his handling of such topics as the first Canadian literary movement, the exploits of the privateers, and the founding and progress of educational institutions. Perhaps he is at his best, however, in his sketches of successive governors and his unfailingly careful account of their relations with the House of Assembly—features which, when taken in conjunction, afford a valuable indication of the maturing of the constitutional issue. A valid point of criticism suggests itself in the contrast between the relative fullness with which the Loyalist immigration is described and the somewhat scanty account of Scottish settlement. Then, too, Mr. MacMechan has a pronounced hero-worship for Howe, and, when he tells us that in Nova Scotia the latter was regarded as “the natural acknowledged exponent” of the idea of federation, he forecloses on somewhat inadequate grounds a question which, to say the least of it, is highly debatable.

The story of Prince Edward Island prior to Confederation is told by Dr. MacPhail. One feature which distinguishes his contribution from those of Archdeacon Raymond and Mr. MacMechan is the addition of foot-note references to the original sources. Dr. MacPhail prefaces his account of the early history of the Island with a review of the information furnished in three different “surveys” written by investigators who visited it about the year 1750. Generally speaking, his narrative is full and informative for the eighteenth century, but thereafter is somewhat unduly compressed. For this he himself offers an explanation. “Upon certain questions, like that of the relation between landlord and tenant . . . nothing now remains to be said. These will be passed over lightly and attention will be given to others which are yet obscure, so that by a process of collaboration a complete epitome may be presented.” Is it not, however, the very purpose of the work to furnish a “complete epitome” without compelling the general reader to supplement the account given from other less accessible sources?

In the first two contributions of Volume xiv Mr. MacMechan and Dr. Raymond trace the post-federation history of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively. In both cases the task is ably performed. The true causes of "the lean years" through which the Maritime Provinces have passed are well set out, and both writers conclude on a note of reasonable hope. After reviewing in a serious light Nova Scotia's practical condemnation of federation in 1886, Mr. MacMechan is able to affirm that "no one would now think seriously of returning to the old status". There follows on these articles as good an account of the constitutional law and history of the Atlantic Provinces as one could well wish to have. With admirable clearness and perfect balance Mr. Charles Morse provides a full epitome of the facts in regard to executive, legislative, judicial, financial and municipal organization. He does not content himself with a mere re-statement of these facts, but traverses the verdicts of other authorities and on more than one question which has never been brought to a definite issue offers a valuable legal opinion. The contributions on fisheries, forest resources, farming, and mining are all from the pens of experts. Principal Cumming's account of agriculture and Mr. Miller's article on the forests are particularly worthy of note. The only really disappointing sub-division in the whole section is that which deals with education. Frankly, one had a right to expect something more from the contributors who have written upon this subject. They laboured no doubt under somewhat severe restrictions in the matter of the space allotted to them, but none the less some of the material they present might have been shortened or indeed omitted in favour of fuller reviews of more important topics. The articulation of the educational system is very summarily dealt with. The various articles, and in particular Dr. Mackay's, savour far too much of the statistical report. The statistics given sometimes deal with relatively unimportant subjects. One is told far too little of the developing general aims of educational policy, of the particular merits of the systems and of their defects. The account of univer-

sity education in Nova Scotia is inadequate, and, in regard to the whole field, one looks in vain for the briefest indication of the lines which progress ought to take.

With reference to the general scheme of the section, the only improvement that might be suggested in an otherwise admirable arrangement would be the insertion of an article on the general economic history of the provinces to precede the special contributions on industrial history and resources. Much of the material for such an article has been dealt with *pari passu* by those writers whose primary function it was to write the political history. Economic history being peculiarly evolutionary and catastrophic stands in special need of consecutive treatment. Thus—to give merely one example—any one who goes to these volumes for a succinct account of the commercial relations of the Maritime colonies with the mother country prior to 1867 will be disappointed.

Local patriotism flourishes more vigorously in Nova Scotia than in any other province. County histories, genealogies of the more noted septs, monographs on provincial institutions, abound, to prove that the community has a memory for its communal life. The latest indication of this praiseworthy spirit is in the Rev. J. P. MacPhie's *Pictonians at Home and Abroad*.* Making no pretence to literary style, the author has succeeded in bringing together within a very moderate compass a mass of historical and biographical data which must always have distinct value. The matter is clearly arranged under such headings as "The Pioneers of Pictou", "Pictonians [it ought to be 'Pictovians' surely, to prevent confusing the Nova Scotian county with the county town of Prince Edward County] in the Pulpit", "Pictonians in the Medical Profession", etc., etc. It is a long list of men who have risen to more or less eminence in the public and intellectual life of the Dominion. A county which gave Dawson to McGill, Grant and Gordon to Queen's,

**Pictonians at Home and Abroad. Sketches of Professional Men and Women of Pictou County. Its History and Institutions.* By the Rev. J. P. MacPhie. Boston: Pinkham Press. [1914.] Pp. viii, 232.

Ross, Forrest and Mackenzie to Dalhousie, has a right to be proud of itself and to behave with a certain condescension to the rest of Canada. More truly than Quebec, Pictou County is entitled to the motto "Je me souviens", or the Gaelic equivalent thereof. The rugged Scottish features of the numerous portraits form a history in themselves, the most remarkable being that of Professor W. R. Grant. The frontispiece shows the elm under which MacGregor, the pioneer missionary, preached his first sermon in 1786.

In a short but very suggestive article on Nova Scotia, Mr. Whitbeck* attacks the problem of the backwardness of Nova Scotia as contrasted with the progressiveness of New England. Of the two colonies Nova Scotia seemed one hundred years ago to have the better prospects. The brief survey of its geographical features which the author makes throws no light upon the question; the chief cause seems to be the isolation of the province from the rest of British North America. "It has no hinterland, and in this lies one of its greatest contrasts to Massachusetts." But if Nova Scotia has not enjoyed great material prosperity, it has contributed richly in men to the political and intellectual development of Canada. The chief products of Nova Scotia are apples, scholars, and statesmen. In this connection the author suggests another interesting problem. The county of Pictou is the centre of the Scottish population, and exemplifies the devotion to education and self-improvement characteristic of that stock. The county of Lunenburg is mainly settled by the descendants of Germans from Hanover and the Palatinate, and their illiteracy is in strong contrast to the high standard of education in Pictou county. If the Scottish population had been settled where the Germans were, would the environment that has changed the characteristics of the German stock have operated in the same degree upon the Scots?

**A Geographical Study of Nova Scotia.* By R. H. Whitbeck. (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, June 1914, pp. 413-419.)

(2) The Province of Quebec

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section VIII (volumes xv and xvi): *The Province of Quebec.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 598.

The two volumes on the Province of Quebec comprise a series of articles by nine authors. Those on "The Habitant, his Origin and History", by Mr. A. D. DeCelles, and on "The English Settlement in Quebec", by Mr. W. D. Lighthall, show the development of two peoples; that on "Quebec under Confederation", by Mr. A. D. DeCelles, gives a short account of the political history of the province from 1867 to 1913. The government of Quebec and provincial taxation and finance are dealt with by Mr. E. T. D. Chambers; the civil code and the judicial system by Mr. F. P. Walton; the municipal system of Quebec by Mr. A. D. DeCelles and city government by Mr. W. D. Lighthall. The second volume deals with French and English education in three articles by the Abbé A. E. Gosselin, the Abbé Adelard Desrosiers, and Mr. George W. Parmelee. The remainder of the volume is devoted to a description of natural resources and their development. Mr. J. C. Chapais writes on three centuries of agriculture; Mr. E. T. D. Chambers on the resources and fisheries of Quebec, and Mr. Frank D. Adams on mining.

The articles on the habitant and the English settler describe the characteristics of the two peoples that have been linked together in one society. The habitant is treated of as *coureur de bois* and soldier and as settler under the French régime, while the English settlers in Quebec are described under the topics of the British soldiers and their following, the early British civilians, the Loyalists, and the immigrant pioneers. It is difficult to realize to-day how small and struggling was the original colony in New France.

At his death Champlain had but eighty-five colonists, and of this number only twenty-three were habitants, that is people who came to settle permanently on farms as opposed to the *engagés* who sold their services for a number of years and the *hivernants* who traded in Canada during the winter. There were eleven interpreters, fourteen clerks, ten priests, seven traders, and twenty trappers. Only the habitants and priests formed the nucleus of a permanent settlement. In 1759 there were fewer than 70,000 Europeans in Canada as compared with two million in the New England states. The disparity of population was due both to discouragement from France and to the austere nature of the life in the colony. Sully opposed Champlain's expedition to Canada on the ground that "nothing worth having can be got from those countries in the New World situated beyond latitude 40°". Voltaire described France and England as "two nations fighting for a few acres of snow in Canada, and spending in war more than Canada was worth". The Church was the pioneer of new settlement and of education. As it was in the early days, so is it now the dominant force in the province of Quebec. Three priests to each post was Richelieu's rule for the Company of One Hundred Associates. Immigration was limited to Roman Catholics, and to this day there is no Protestant community in large sections of the province. The church, set, when possible, on a hill, and beside it the imposing *presbytère*, are the outward and visible signs of a community guided by the priest in every department of life. The Church has not forfeited a single heritage gained by its pioneers. "New France", says Mr. DeCelles, "was reared in a religious atmosphere from its earliest days. Its cradle was a church and the tradition has been kept ever since in each Quebec parish."

The proportion of English in the province may be gauged by the small compass of Mr. Lighthall's article (84 pages) on "The English Settlement". From 1867 to 1913 there are but two English names in the list of provincial prime ministers. Administration in the hands of the French does not prove, however, that Quebec was a replica of

France. The development of responsible government in the province meant the grafting of English institutions not on modern France but on the France of the old régime. New France had never accepted the Revolution after the battle of Aboukir. A *Te Deum* was then sung at Quebec, and the Abbé Plessis in a sermon praised the English government and called on his flock to "rejoice at this felicitous event. All that weakens France contributes to separate her more and more from us. All that contributes to such an end tends to make more secure our lives, liberty, tranquillity, prosperity and happiness" (p. 101). We may add to the voice of the Church that of the champions of responsible government; for in 1820 Papineau declared that "under the French government the interests of this colony have been more frequently neglected and maladministered than those of any other part of its dependencies" (p. 104). The dismissal of the prime minister, M. de Boucherville, by Lieutenant-Governor Letellier in 1878 and the subsequent controversy terminating in the removal of Letellier established the principle of ministerial control in accordance with English precedent. Though French civil law was established by the Quebec Act in 1774, English procedure has influenced the attitude of French-Canadian judges. In principle the courts of Quebec pay no heed to precedent; in practice a respect is paid to precedent which is unknown in the courts of France.

That the French-Canadian is capable of self-government his history proves; that the mass of the people are without political aspiration or understanding is shown by their indifference to large issues. For this indifference the system of education is in large measure responsible. The Abbé Gosselin, in his account of the history of education under the French régime, proves the literacy of the early colonists (p. 328) and does justice to the pioneer work of the Church in establishing schools, both classical and technical. Of the zeal of the pioneers for education there is no question, but the full recognition of their work does not prove that the Abbé Desrosiers is correct in his attitude on French educa-

tion since the conquest. "For herself", he says, "Quebec has not and can never have any educational question over which the different elements of her population will fight. She is one of the few provinces of the Dominion that have been able to plan a scheme of education that respects all rights and claims and encourages the spread of knowledge in every field" (p. 441). Granted that there has been justice to minorities and that no trouble will arise from dual direction, it is still conceivable that with a growth of political consciousness difficulties may arise. The spread of knowledge in every field may be encouraged within the precincts of Laval, but if any such attempt is being made in the elementary schools the result would seem to indicate that the French-Canadian peasant must be as incapable of literacy as the German, according to Bernhardi, is of self-government.

It has been said that the history of a society to be of the greatest value ought to be critical before it is partisan. In this respect certain of these articles leave something to be desired. Fearless self-criticism is not characteristic of a new country and a new civilization. It is regarded as unpatriotic and therefore reprehensible. Action seems more important than theory; the pressure of circumstances precludes thought; owing to the isolation of communities there is no standard of comparison. These volumes are not, however, wholly uncritical. The articles on the municipal system and on city government for instance, are very frank.

Mr. E. Z. Massicotte has added to his researches into the early history of Montreal a chronological list of the names of the colonists in Montreal from 1642 to 1667.* The list is naturally, in view of the imperfect character of the records, not complete; and it is not always possible to assign the date at which some of the colonists arrived in Montreal. But the list is nevertheless an astonishing achieve-

**Les Colons de Montréal de 1642 à 1667*. Par E. Z. Massicotte. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 3-65.)

ment. The amount of research entailed has been very great. To each name is added a brief note containing biographical details and references to the authorities. From 1648 onward a list of births in Montreal is given. Altogether nearly fifteen hundred names are noticed. Although the value of the list for the general historian is perhaps not commensurate with the labour which it must have cost, it is not possible to withhold admiration from the assiduous scholarship which made it possible. For the student of French-Canadian genealogy, of course, Mr. Massicotte's work is invaluable.

It is some years since the Missisquoi County Historical Society has issued a report of its transactions. Now, however, the society has broken its silence with a *Fifth Report*.^{*} The chief feature is a paper, or rather a series of short papers, on *The Seigniories of Missisquoi* by Judge McCorkill, the president of the society. Missisquoi, the writer points out, is the only county in the Eastern Townships in which land was held under the seigniorial system during the French régime. It therefore presents some points of interest. Judge McCorkill has incorporated in his paper the result of investigations in the Dominion Archives and in private quarters; but the subject of seigniorial tenure in Canada has been so thoroughly worked that he cannot be said to have added anything to our knowledge that is not of merely local interest. The rest of the report is taken up with short biographies, accompanied by portraits, of prominent Missisquoi County men of a former generation; and with one or two scraps of local tradition with regard to the events of 1837 and 1838. Some interesting notes on early social history will be found in a paper by Mr. H. Watson entitled *Reminiscences of the Early Settlers of Dunham*.

^{*}*Fifth Report of the Transactions of the Missisquoi County Historical Society, consisting of Papers, Sketches, Items and Portraits of Local and National Interest.* St. Johns, P.Q. 1913. Pp. 109.

Mr. Castell Hopkins in his book on *French Canada and the St. Lawrence** analyses French-Canadian life and sentiment to-day, and sketches the history of French Canada. His chapters on Montreal and Quebec furnish a useful guide to places of traditional interest in these cities; that on folklore and ballads, to the demons and ghosts who haunt the shores of the St. Lawrence and cause the habitant to close door and window against night, full of the supernatural. He pictures the life of the early seigneurs; one of whose luxuries was a pasty containing "a turkey, two chickens, two partridges, two pigeons, portions of two rabbits, slices of fat pork, two hams seasoned with onions, and the whole flavoured with the finest of spices". One regrets the false psychology which permits the author to announce at too frequent intervals that history is interesting and scenery attractive; thus depriving the reader of the satisfaction of an original discovery. The book is overburdened with lists of names which display knowledge, but do not enlighten. The translation into English of French folk songs, notably, "A la claire Fontaine" (p. 319), but without the addition of the original, is hard to forgive. Signs of haste are found in small inaccuracies and in the varied and original spelling of French names. "Isle aux Coudrés" (p. 18) is presumably the same place as "Isle-aux-Coudres" (p. 61). The "*Coutumé de Paris*" is a surprising departure; and the statement that Murray Bay is "famous for its fishing and bathing" (p. 18) leaves one looking for the adjective "bad", which has perhaps lost its way. In spite of minor defects, the book contains many things of popular interest, and an index for finding them.

The Province of Quebec has issued a document on the district of Ungava,† newly annexed to the province, which consists of extracts from previous reports on the territory

**French Canada and the St. Lawrence, historic, picturesque, and descriptive.* By J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto: Bell and Cockburn. 1913. Pp. 431.

†*Extraits de Rapports sur le District d'Ungava récemment annexé à la province de Québec et constituant le Nouveau Québec.* Québec, 1913. Pp. 232.

chiefly by members of the Geological Survey of Canada. The late Director, Mr. A. P. Low, had made the Labrador peninsula his particular play-ground in years gone by, and therefore the principal place is given to a report by him, originally issued in 1897. Three of the other reports drawn upon are also by Mr. Low, but unfortunately there is no indication, other than his name, of the source from which they come or of their date, and another report is anonymous as well. A little more care in the editing of these government publications would add very much to their value. Another official publication calls attention to the advantages offered by the Gaspé peninsula for settlement.* Besides statistics and information useful for settlers there are some twenty pages of history. It is not reassuring to find that these pages begin with the statement that the peninsula had been visited by men from Greenland and Iceland before Jacques Cartier's discovery, and that they had important fishing establishments there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Rafn, the Danish archaeologist, is said to confirm this hypothesis. Additional confirmation is supposed to be given by the well known supposition of Leclercq that the so-called Cross-bearing Indians must have received at an earlier period instruction in Christianity. However, the remainder of Mr. Pelland's history is unimpeachable and interesting. Some illustrations from old engravings are given which suggest the appearance of the settlements in bygone days.

The interest of the people of the province of Quebec in genealogy and the subsidiary branches of inquiry which bear upon genealogy is boundless. Probably no other country ever undertook such a task as that of Monsignor Tanguay, who prepared a genealogical dictionary of the families of the province of Quebec. It was necessarily incomplete, but it remains a monument of patient labour among the parish registers of the whole province. Dr. N. E. Dionne, who has

* *Vastes champs offerts à la colonisation et à l'industrie: La Gaspésie, esquisse historique, ses ressources, ses progrès et son avenir.* Par Alfred Pelland. Québec, 1914. Pp. 276.

a long record of laborious research into the history of his native province, has now published a volume which he entitles *Origine des Familles émigrés de France, d'Espagne, etc.** His method has apparently been to find, either by personal examination of parochial records or by using Tanguay and other authorities, the names and places of origin of the families concerned, and then to use existing etymological and geographical dictionaries to explain these names. He does not claim to be an original authority in regard to the family names, which are, indeed, uniformly of European origin and can therefore be inquired into only in Europe. The preface is an interesting discussion of the origin and the gradual transformation of family names. Dr. Dionne thinks that fewer names have disappeared than is usually supposed. They will often be found surviving in localities with which they have no historical connection. It is interesting to note the chief sources from which names are derived. The Old Testament, and religious associations generally, furnish a good many. So also do localities, titles and conditions, such as Davignon, Baron, Prince, Lepage, Provost and Roy. Relationship (Cousin), metals (Doré), fabulous characters, colours, animals, vegetables, the months of the year, birds, machines and utensils (Forget, Verreau) all furnish numerous family names. The body of Dr. Dionne's work consists of an alphabetical list, running to more than six hundred pages, of French-Canadian family names. The explanation of the name includes the locality in which it is used in Europe and the probable origin of the word. His work would have been improved by a critical estimate of his authorities and the exact titles of the works consulted. The book has, however, very great value and interest for the families of the province of Quebec.

**Les Canadiens-français. Origine des Familles émigrés de France, d'Espagne de Suisse, etc., pour venir se fixer au Canada, depuis la fondation de Québec jusqu' à ces derniers temps, et signification de leurs noms.* Par N. E. Dionne. Quebec: Librairie Garneau. 1914. Pp. xxxiii, 611.

Under the title *Louis Hébert** the Abbé Couillard-Després has published a popular edition of *La première famille française au Canada, ses alliés et ses descendants*, reviewed in our Volume XII. After the manner of the Elizabethans, the Abbé has sought and found a patron, whose portrait furnishes the frontispiece, in the shape of "L'honorable Joseph Édouard Caron, ministre de l'agriculture et de la voirie, Province de Québec". The appendix proves that Mr. Caron recognizes Louis Hébert as a remote ancestor; the text, that the Parisian apothecary and his immediate family were worthy of such recognition. The book is begotten of a self-contained community remote from the world, if world there be, outside the province of Quebec. In such a community, Mr. Bourassa, like Shakespeare in a larger sphere, needs no foot-note of explanation or identification. The Abbé is frankly and refreshingly partisan in his interpretation of history; treatment and matter illustrate the religious zeal and comfortable intolerance of the early settlers. That the members of De Monts's first expedition were part Catholic, part Protestant, accounts for the ill-success of that venture: "Ce mélange d'éléments religieux n'était pas fait pour attirer les bénédictions de Dieu sur l'entreprise" (p. 18). One could wish that the list of authorities in the Abbé's former volume had been reprinted and that his use of foot-notes, giving chapter and verse, had been habitual, not merely spasmodic. It is a pity that some inferior illustrations (notably those opposite pages 56 and 86) have been inserted, while a legible key to the map of old Quebec (p. 128) has been omitted.

The Abbé Beaubien's account of the history of the Beaubien family and its connections† has, as the author

**Louis Hébert, premier colon canadien et sa famille*. Par l'Abbé Azarie Couillard-Després. Lille—Paris—Bruges: Société Saint-Augustin, Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie. 1913. Pp. 152.

†*Ecrin d'Amour familial: Détails historiques au sujet d'une famille, comme il y en a tant d'autres au Canada qui devraient avoir leur histoire*. Par Chas.-P. Beaubien. Montreal: Arbour et Dupont. 1914. Pp. 247.

himself confesses, only a limited appeal. It has evidently been a labour of love. The author has read widely, and, though he has not had many original sources to draw from the book is not without historical interest. The founder of the family of Beaubien, or Trottier de Beaubien, as it was formerly called, was Jules Trottier, who came to Canada in 1646. His descendants have scattered all over Canada, and branches of the family established themselves at Detroit and at Chicago. Some of the most famous families in Canada, the Casgrains, the Panets, the Letellier de St. Justs, the Gaspés, are related to the Beaubiens. One could have wished that the Abbé Beaubien had devoted more space to the solid historical details which must be the backbone of any such work, and less to the reflections and quotations which encumber his pages; but the French-Canadians have their own way of doing these things. An admirable feature of the book is to be found in the numerous portraits and photographs which illustrate it.

Souvenirs Politiques, 1890 à 1896. Par Charles Langelier.
Vol. II. Quebec: Dussault & Proulx. 1912. Pp.
ix, 272.

We reviewed (Vol. XIV, p. 90) Mr. Langelier's first volume on its appearance and should have noticed before the second volume issued in 1912. He was a colleague of the late Honoré Mercier, prime minister of Quebec; and the volume is chiefly an *apologia* for Mercier. Mercier was indeed a remarkable man. He had a touch of genius and if he had lived longer he might have occupied a place in the hearts of the French-Canadians not less striking than that of Papineau in an earlier period. He was an orator, and Mr. Langelier tells us that he was also an omnivorous reader. He must have had charm of manner, and he had a real insight into the needs of the province of Quebec. To encourage agriculture he founded the "Ordre du Mérite Agricole". His much debated grant of money to settle the dispute about the Jesuit estates had at least this merit, that it aimed

to end an old controversy and to free men's minds for confronting the tasks of the future.

Mercier's great opportunity to assert himself as the leader of the French-Canadian race came in 1886 when the half-breed Louis Riel was executed at Regina. It shows the danger of a racial cry, in a country divided in race, that the execution of Riel, who was either a criminal or a madman, should have inflamed the province of Quebec and brought about there the overthrow of the Conservative party. Mercier urged that the French should unite in the face of aggression from the British elements in Canada. As a result he became prime minister of Quebec in 1887. When he went to Europe a little later he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire by the Pope and he was made much of in Paris, where he negotiated successfully an important loan. Mr. Langelier devotes the greater part of his book to the justification of Mercier's course as prime minister, especially in reference to the building of the Baie des Chaleurs railway. The affair brought about his downfall. He was accused of gross corruption. Mr. Angers, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, straining the authority of his office, dismissed Mercier and brought on an election. The electors supported the governor's action. Mercier became a broken and ruined man. He was already stricken with mortal disease, and died soon after. Probably in the annals of politics there is no more singular incident than that of Mercier with, as he said, the hand of death upon him, making a passionate speech in the Quebec legislature and appealing to the judgment of posterity. The stoic Briton would have drawn back from such an effort. Mercier's posthumous fame in his native province promises to be very great. Already his statue stands before the Parliament house at Quebec. Mr. Langelier's volume includes sketches of the lives of prominent French-Canadian leaders who died during the period covered by the volume.

A volume of philological papers on French-Canadian French, by Mr. Adjutor Rivard*, contains one on the speech of the first settlers of New France which has an historical interest. During the seventeenth century the peasant speech in most parts of France was *patois*, and it is only natural that each group of peasant immigrants brought its own *patois* with it to Canada. Most of them spoke a more or less correct French as well. There is curious historical evidence of this. The archives of the Quebec Prévôté for the years 1666-69 contain a verbatim report of a suit between two settlers belonging to the Lauzon seigniory. A witness testifies as to a conversation between them up to a certain point, after which he was unable to follow it because the defendant "parlait dans son patois". From this it is clear that the *patois* was quite unlike the speech that the witness was accustomed to use or hear, and therefore could not have been merely Canadian French. Another paper in the volume takes the sound position that geographical names once established in one language should be retained in that form. Thus Trois-Pistoles, Rivière du Loup, are no more to be translated into English than Medicine Hat is to be translated into French. This principle is unfortunately not understood or accepted by many French-Canadian writers, among them Mr. Eugène Rouillard, whose *Dictionnaire des Rivières et Lacs de Québec*,† now complete, contains many unfortunate examples of the effort to assign French names to everything in the province without regard to usage or to the decisions of the Geographic Board of Canada, the duly constituted authority on matters of geographical nomenclature. Thus, in the northern part of Ungava District, Whale River and Leaf River, which from the time of their discovery have invariably appeared on maps under those names, are made Rivière à la Baleine and Rivière des Feuilles by Mr. Rouillard. Many other places in that district have the originally English names made French by this simple

**Etudes sur les parlers de France au Canada*. Par Adjutor Rivard. Quebec: J. P. Garneau. 1914. Pp. 282.

†*Dictionnaire des Rivières et Lacs de la province de Québec*. [Quebec]: Département des Terres et Forêts, 1914. Pp. 432.

process of translation. Similarly, the spelling of Indian names by the Geographic Board is altered to suit French phonetics, real or imaginary. Natashkwan thus becomes Natashquan. The name Malbaie has been accepted by the Geographic Board as an alternative for Murray in designating the river that flows into the St. Lawrence at Murray Bay. Mr. Rouillard ignores this decision and omits Murray altogether, although long established usage has fixed it on the maps.

The Abbé A. C. Dugas has written what is only the first volume of his reminiscences of the Collège Joliette.* This institution is a school for boys, many of whom become priests. It is little more than fifty years old, and is situated in a small, industrial town, with surroundings essentially unacademic. Yet the author of this volume is able to prepare an interesting account of the life, customs and traditions of the college. He writes in an animated style, with a flavour of classical learning, and also with a sense of humour. He discusses the recreations, the holidays, the piquant incidents in the routine of the college, as well as its studies, its religious life, its relation to high ecclesiastical authority, from the Pope downwards. Such a book gives a peep into the very heart of the French-Canadian. There is here no history in the sense of a record of important events, but there is history in the deeper sense of the record of the soul of a people. The book is Catholic Quebec in miniature.

Questions d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Par Alphonse Gagnon. Quebec: J. P. Garneau. 1913. Pp. 304.

The essayist flourishes in the Province of Quebec as he does not flourish in any other part of Canada. Mr. Alphonse Gagnon must be ranked among the best of Canadian essayists in French. He has a lucid style and the outlook of a genuine scholar. Most of the fifteen essays of the present volume

**Gerbes de Souvenirs, ou Mémoires, Episodes, Anecdotes et Réminiscences du Collège Joliette.* Par A. C. Dugas. Tome Premier. Montreal: Arbour & Dupont. 1914. Pp. 379.

deal with other matters than questions of Canadian society. Half of Mr. Gagnon's heart is in France, his outlook is devoutly Catholic, and he views with stern condemnation the movements in modern France that affect religion. He jibes at French ignorance of Canada. Mr. de Quatrefages, the anthropologist, actually describes the majority of the people of Quebec as half-breeds, while the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* describes these same half-breeds as having been evangelized only in 1840. This reading of the record of the mother Catholic Church in North America, which began its missionary work more than three hundred years ago, gives a fine occasion for Mr. Gagnon's irony.

It is in the essay, "Nos Cousins d'Outre-mer", and in the two or three essays entitled "Chronique", that we find the discussion of conditions in Canada. In estimating the mental stature of French Canada, Mr. Gagnon admits that its universities are inferior, not merely to those of the old world but to the other universities in Canada. At the same time he claims that there is a deeper intellectual movement in Quebec than in any other part of Canada.

"En attendant, c'est encore dans notre province que le mouvement intellectuel est le plus intense et le plus général. Nos concitoyens d'origine anglo-saxonne nous cèdent le pas dans la production des œuvres de l'esprit; littérature, histoire, sculpture, peinture, musique, etc." (p. 46).

He claims superiority for the French-Canadians over the French of France in regard to the development of individualism and the enjoyment of personal liberty. In France, he thinks, the people are over-regulated; they talk much of liberty and practise it but little; while in Canada there is a real liberty of which little is said. Canada is truly democratic and not hierarchic. Its function for the moment is to make the soil productive. Mr. Gagnon thinks that in the world of commerce the French-Canadians are more than holding their own and that the English supremacy in manufactures and finance has already been undermined.

Possibly from bitter experience Mr. Gagnon describes the difficulties that beset the man of letters in French Canada. The literary atmosphere hardly exists; there is little criticism; there is no leisure class. The man who writes must

at the same time earn his living probably in some other occupation. Publishers, taught by hard experience, will rarely undertake to issue a book at their own risk and the unhappy author must draw on his scanty income to get his book before the world. Considering these difficulties Mr. Gagnon thinks the literary product of Quebec quite admirable. The French-Canadians are holding their own as a national unit. The distinct identity of the race is becoming more rather than less marked; it will not be absorbed by the English element. Mr. Gagnon is not a fanatic. His tone is reasonable, his style is dignified, and he probably expresses the outlook of the great majority of the French race in Canada.

An *Annuaire Statistique** of the province of Quebec has made its first appearance. It includes a geographical sketch, elaborate information as to the population, equally elaborate details of economic production and distribution, and a briefer account of the government service and its administration. The Bureau of Statistics, of whose activity the volume is the fruit, only came into existence in November 1913, but in six months it was able to issue this comprehensive publication. There will doubtless be changes in the form and content when the Bureau has had time to mature its plans. Meanwhile we take the opportunity of welcoming the new publication, which ought to have a long career of usefulness.

**Annuaire Statistique*. 1ère Année. Québec: Bureau de Statistiques. 1914. Pp. 454.

(3) The Province of Ontario

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section IX (Vols. xvi and xvii): *The Province of Ontario.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914. Pp. xii, xii, 645.

The volumes on Ontario in this great co-operative history are edited by Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, who writes an introductory note full of insight. Ontario, as he points out, was founded chiefly by Loyalists who left the revolted colonies rather than remain under an alien flag. These men were against all revolution and there is little wonder that most of them were intense Tories. A burning loyalty to the British crown was their most striking characteristic, and, if they were often narrow and bigoted, they had none the less made great sacrifices for their convictions and had earned the right to proclaim their views.

The two volumes before us contain the story of "Pioneer Settlements" by Mr. A. C. Casselman, of "Political History" from 1867 to 1912 by Mr. W. S. Wallace, an account almost statistical of the organization of the provincial government by Mr. Thomas Mulvey, and a description of "Finance and Taxation" by Professor James Mavor. These more general topics are followed in the next volume by the particular subjects of education, the municipal system, the judicial system, and lastly agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and mining. The two volumes have a real unity of plan. They are written by men who know their work. To speak of economic questions, for instance, Mr. C. C. James knows agriculture as almost no one else in Canada knows it, and Mr. W. G. Miller is an authority on mining.

The best information that could be procured has thus been put into the volumes. Most of the subjects do not lend themselves to vivid history. Mr. Casselman is more solid than dramatic in his account of Loyalist settlement. He is

always well informed and his statement of Loyalist claims is well documented. The Loyalists were not, however, the only newcomers. There were "Quakers", Mennonites, Junkers, and, perhaps most interesting of all, aristocratic *émigrés*, driven from France by the Revolution. One or two of them succeeded, but most of them made a dismal failure of life in pioneer conditions and soon scattered. The work of the aristocratic Colonel Talbot has also special interest. Mr. Casselman deals very gently with Talbot, who secured vast areas of land for his services, and thinks that he did a work almost wholly useful. But it may be doubted whether the fertile tract which he helped to people would not have been filled up even more rapidly without the authority of an arbitrary and often tyrannical official over the settlements. The Glengarry settlement shows its Scottish origin. There were a good many other types. Perhaps Mr. Casselman might have said more of the German type which reached Ontario chiefly from Pennsylvania and made what is now the prosperous city of Berlin their centre.

Mr. Wallace's political history of Ontario is based upon a study of original material. He has consulted newspapers as well as memoirs, and the result is the first connected story of this period in politics. The issues may strike us to-day as often trifling, but so probably will our issues strike posterity. Education, the License System, and Provincial Rights were not, however, minor issues, and with them Mr. Wallace deals fully. Mr. Mulvey's account of the organization of the government of the province, and of the labours of the different departments, is authoritative from an official of his standing. Ontario is probably the largest political unit in the world governed by a legislature having only one chamber, and there is, on the whole, little discontent with the system. Professor Mavor's account of Finance and Taxation is specially valuable both in its reference to a wide range of authorities and in its illustration from European precedent. On the Public School System Dr. Pakenham speaks with authority. Mr. Kenneth Bell's article on Secondary and University Education is based on

less exact knowledge, but it is not conventional in its estimate of the merits and defects of the Ontario system. Mr. Mulvey is well informed on the judiciary and his article contains the best brief account of the administration of justice in Ontario that has yet been written. The economic articles do not call for further special mention.

History of Niagara (in Part). By Janet Carnochan.
Toronto: William Briggs. 1914. Pp. xiv, 333.

Miss Janet Carnochan has spent her life in a study of the antiquities of Niagara. Her work in connection with the Niagara Historical Society's publications and the upbuilding of the historical museum at Niagara has been deserving of great admiration. A history of Niagara from her pen, therefore, was bound to be a contribution of distinct value to the local history of Ontario. From the standpoint of knowledge of the subject, there is perhaps no one so well qualified as she to undertake the task of writing the history of Niagara; and her book will be found a storehouse of information, useful not only to the historian of that part of the country, but also to the historian of Canada.

In some of the more superficial aspects of the book we confess to a little disappointment. Miss Carnochan has not attempted to weave together a connected narrative; but her book is rather a collection of more or less disjointed essays on various phases of Niagara history. Chapters are devoted to various buildings, such as "Navy Hall and Fort George", "Butler's Barracks", "St. Mark's Church"; to various historical incidents, such as "The American Occupation"; and to such subjects as "Newspapers", "Graveyards", "Physicians and Lawyers", "Societies and Clubs". This method of treatment leads in some cases to repetition; nor does it tend to preserve a proper historical perspective. Another regrettable feature of the book is Miss Carnochan's constant failure to cite her authorities. For many of her statements we should be glad to know the grounds. She says, for instance, that Joseph Willcocks (whose name she spells "Wilcocks") first printed his *Upper Canada Gazette*

or *Freeman's Journal* in 1807 at York (p. 72). There is reason for suspecting that the paper was first printed on the American side of the border; but if Miss Carnochan has evidence to the contrary, it would be interesting to see it. In the same way, has Miss Carnochan any evidence to support her statement that Willcocks fought at the battle of Queenston Heights? Surely she knows that the statement has been disputed.

The book is well printed, and is illustrated with old prints and modern photographs. A fairly good index is appended.

In a paper read before the Royal Society Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott deals with two controversial questions relating to Niagara.* The first is, where did the first parliament of Upper Canada meet? Mr. Scott believes that it met in Freemason's Hall, and he adduces as proof a general order signed by the lieutenant-governor's secretary directing that a subaltern's guard was to mount at Freemason's Hall for the opening of the House of Assembly. This is very good evidence; though it should be observed that it testifies only to an intention on the part of the lieutenant-governor to open the legislature at Freemason's Hall. But there is other evidence which Mr. Scott completely ignores. We have Colonel Clark's statement in his diary (Ontario Historical Society: *Papers and Records*, Vol. 7, p. 167) that "our first Parliament met in Niagara in marquee tents"; and we have the statement of William Dummer Powell, unearthed by Mr. Justice Riddell, to the same effect. The effect of this cumulative evidence is too great to be brushed aside without mention. The second question which Mr. Scott attacks is, are any of the buildings of the original Navy Hall still in existence? This question he answers in the negative; and his reasoning carries conviction. The building which has

**Notes on the Meeting Place of the First Parliament of Upper Canada and the Early Buildings at Niagara.* By Duncan Campbell Scott. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. ii, pp. 175-191.)

hitherto been regarded as one of the original Navy Hall buildings, and which was restored in 1912 by the Dominion government, was built, he argues, in 1815 as a commissariat store-house. As appendices, Mr. Scott has printed a number of plans and documents from the Archives in support of his case. Some of these, notably Peter Russell's list of government property in Upper Canada in 1800, are of distinctly wider interest than the rest.

Professor Adam Shortt, though he writes only a brief paper, throws an illuminating light on the life of the settler in Ontario in the early days of the last century.* It is based upon the diary of Benjamin Smith, who settled in Canada in 1794 near Lancaster. The original is in the Ontario Archives in Toronto. It is not usually realized that these settlers had to create the whole fabric of civilized life. They had to build their houses. These were log huts, usually 10 feet by 15 feet with no chimney at first; to be provided with a chimney was a mark of growing luxury. They made their own tools and their own shoes and clothing. They were their own butchers, and the annual hog-killing is duly noted. They threshed by hand labour. The building of a barn was a festival for the neighbourhood, after the "raising" had been accomplished. A hollow tree was often used instead of a stone casing for a well. They used oxen instead of horses because oxen were less nervous on the stump-strewn ground, were less likely to stray, and could be eaten when their work was done. There were few iron stoves; a clay outside oven was used for baking.

"The supplies obtained from the stores were primarily those which the settler could not possibly supply for himself, such as glass for windows, cutting tools, table ware, guns, with powder and shot, salt, rum, tobacco. There were also nails and hinges, scythes, bar iron, axes, hammers, saws, knives, etc." (p. 14). The prices may well make our mouths water in the present day. The highest price for beef was 5 cents a pound and for mutton 10 cents. Two fowl could be bought for 25 cents; whisky was only \$1.00 a gallon. On the other hand salt,

**Life of the Settler in Western Canada before the War of 1812.* By Adam Shortt. (Queen's Quarterly, July, 1914, pp. 71-88.)

nails, hats, glass, sugar and tea were very dear. All this and much more is in Mr. Shortt's most interesting contribution to economic history.

David William Smith was an interesting figure in the early history of Upper Canada, both from the official position he occupied, and from the important collection of papers he left behind him. Mr. C. C. James has investigated a point of dispute in his career.* There is some doubt as to what riding he was elected to sit for in the Upper Canada Assembly in 1792. Mr. James prints some documents from the Smith papers in the possession of Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit which go to show that Smith was elected for the county of Essex. Who his opponent was, however, is a question on which the documents throw no light.

Mr. J. Ross Robertson has published the sixth series of his *Landmarks of Toronto*.† Republished as they are from the columns of a daily newspaper, the sketches contained in the volume are not always perfect in typography; but they include a great variety of material of a useful character, and they must have done much to stimulate among the people of Toronto an interest in their local history. An admirable feature of the *Landmarks* has always been the portraits and plans with which they have been illustrated; in the present volume there is a collection of the portraits of the mayors of Toronto since its incorporation. But the most important sections of the book are those dealing with the early official gazettes. The first of these contains excerpts from the *Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle*, dating from 1793 to 1834. Although this was the official government paper, its field was not strictly official; and the extracts possess a

**David William Smith: A Supplementary Note to the Upper Canada Election of 1792.* By C. C. James. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. ii, pp. 57-66.)

†*Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto: a Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 to 1833 and of Toronto from 1834 to 1914, republished from the Toronto "Evening Telegram".* Sixth Series. Toronto: J. Ross Robertson. 1914. Pp. xxii, 592.

wide variety of interest. A student of early Canadian history, who is not able to wade through the files of the *Gazette* itself, will find in these excerpts many notes on social and political history. The other section is bibliographical. It presents a tabulated account of the history of the official gazettes of each province of the Dominion, an indication as to where the files of these gazettes are to be found, whether they are complete, and whether they are perfect. The value of such a bibliography for reference will be immediately apparent to any one who has had occasion to refer to early newspapers. The work must have taken months of labour to accomplish, and by itself gives the volume a distinct and permanent value.

Mr. Pearson's *Recollections and Records of Toronto of Old** is an interesting contribution to the history of the capital of Ontario. Mr. Pearson came to Toronto as a boy in 1839. From 1847 to 1854 he was a clerk in the post-office; and in this capacity he acquired a wide acquaintance with the people of Toronto. As a picture of Toronto in the forties, his book has real value; he takes up the streets of that day one by one and describes them and their inhabitants in detail. Many of the details which he supplies will be found nowhere else, not even in Scadding's *Toronto of Old* or Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto*. So far as we have been able to check it, the book appears remarkably accurate for one which is based largely on the human memory. The only misspelled name we have noticed is "Duncome" (p. 18) for Duncombe. Curiously enough, the book contains almost nothing of a political nature. Its main interest lies in its notes on social history, and its information with regard to people and to buildings which have long since passed away. It is interesting to know that \$500 a year was considered in the forties a good salary, and that the cost of living was so low that such a salary went as far as a salary

**Recollections and Records of Toronto of Old, with References to Brantford, Kingston and other Canadian Towns.* By W. H. Pearson. Toronto: William Briggs. 1914. Pp. 372.

several times its amount goes to-day. The salary of the chief clerk in the post-office in 1847 was \$300; and Mr. Pearson's salary was \$160. It appears that there were only two or three cabs in Toronto in 1840; and that the only public conveyance was an omnibus which plied between Toronto and Yorkville. There are a few interesting illustrations, mostly from old photographs or daguerreotypes. The index might well have been fuller.

Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Vol. xii.
Toronto. 1914. Pp. 220.

The latest volume of the Ontario Historical Society's *Papers and Records* contains a great variety of papers. These possess differing values. One of the most valuable is an essay by Mr. George M. Jones on *The Peter Perry Election and the Rise of the Clear Grit Party*. Mr. Jones describes a little known phase in the history of political parties in Canada. He shows with admirable clearness how Robert Baldwin and George Brown saved the incipient Clear Grit party in 1849 from the danger of going over to the annexationist camp. The sources of the paper are mainly the newspapers of that day. Several papers deal with early settlements in Upper Canada. Miss Marjorie J. F. Fraser, under the rather unhappy title of *Feudalism in Upper Canada, 1823-1843*, describes the history of the MacNab settlement in the country of Renfrew. The story is one of great injustices perpetrated on the settlers by the founder of the settlement, Archibald MacNab, chief of the Clan MacNab; but it is hardly accurate to describe it as "an attempt of a Highland chief to become a feudal baron on the free soil of Canada". "Poulett Thompson" (p. 152) should be Poulett Thomson. *The Toon o' Maxwell—an Owen Settlement in Lambton County, Ont.*, by the Rev. John Morrison, is the story of a settlement of a different sort. "The Toon o' Maxwell", a communistic settlement, was founded on Lake Huron in 1827 by Henry Jones, a connection of Sir John Colborne. Not many accurate data respecting the colony are available; but it is evident that it did not prove a success,

and gradually broke up. A picture of early days in the county of Brant is contained in *Reminiscences of Earlier Years in Brant*, by Miss Augusta I. Grant Gilkison, and in *Reminiscences of the First Settlers in the County of Brant*, by Messrs. Charles and James C. Thomas. The first is the result of a personal acquaintance with some of the early settlers; the second is based mainly upon family papers inherited from the writers' grandparents and great-grandparents. These papers evidently contain a good deal of some interest; we venture to suggest that it would have been better had the Messrs. Thomas printed them in full, instead of writing a paper about them. Mr. John May depicts vividly *Bush Life in the Ottawa Valley Eighty Years Ago*. The paper of Judge H. S. MacDonald on *The U. E. Loyalists of the Old Johnstown District* is a curious *olla podrida*: it contains quotations of prose and poetry about the United Empire Loyalists, a reprint of the record of the swearing in of Justices of the Peace at a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace in 1800, and biographical and genealogical notes on the Sherwood, Buell, Stone, Jessup, and Jones families. A paper which covers part of the same ground is Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Cole's *The Local History of the Town of Brockville*. The main interest of the paper lies in the identification of early locations. Two papers deal with the war of 1812. Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, in *The War of 1812-15*, gives a popular résumé of the course of the military operations; and Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, in *The Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Settlement of the Canadian West*, discusses some of the more remote results of the war. A contribution of some value and interest is Mr. George R. Dolan's paper on *The Past and Present Fortifications of Kingston*. "As these forts", says Mr. Dolan, "would furnish good material for a museum collection, so the stirring incidents connected with them, and the weed-covered, charred hulls at the bottom of Navy Bay, open up a boundless field for historical and romantic story, which has hitherto been scarcely touched". The story of yet another old fortification is told in Dr. G. A. MacCallum's *History of the Hospital for the Insane* (for-

merly the Military and Naval Depot), Penetanguishene, Ont. The paper is accompanied by a map containing an interesting reconstruction of the old "military and naval establishment". Lastly, a number of papers relating to the Indians will be found reviewed under the heading of ethnology and archaeology. It is with regret that one observes throughout the volume many misprints.

The Brant Historical Society has published some of the papers read at its meetings during the years 1908-1911.* Most of them are slight and popular in character. Miss Augusta I. G. Gilkison contributes a note on the *Early History of Brantford*, based on personal recollection and on tradition; and Mr. J. J. Hawkins contributes a similar sort of paper on *Early Days in Brantford*. A sketch of the history of *Brant County* is written by Mr. T. W. Standing. Major Gordon J. Smith, the superintendent of the Six Nations, in *Land Tenure in Brant County*, describes the various transfers and grants of land in Brant County; and, in *Whiteman's Creek*, he gives an account of the origin of the creek, based on a family tradition. Miss Evelyn H. C. Johnson contributes a very interesting paper on *The Martin Settlement*, in which she tells the story of the settlement of George Martin, one of her Indian ancestors, on the Grand River, and pleads for the preservation of the old Martin homestead. Major M. F. Muir writes on *The Old Burial Ground at Burford*. There are two papers on Joseph Brant, Miss C. Gillen's *Captain Joseph Brant*, and Mr. J. J. Hawkins's *Joseph Brant, Warrior and Statesman*. Mr. S. F. Passmore contributes an account of the life of Dr. Ebenezer Lee, *The First Medical Practitioner in the County of Brant*; and describes some of the measures taken to crush the rebellion of 1837 in the western part of the province, in *A Reminiscence of 1838*.

*Some of the Papers Read during the years 1908-1911 at Meetings of the Brant Historical Society. [1913.] Pp. 82.

The formation of a new local historical society in the county of Kent has borne fruit in a first volume of papers.* The president of the society, Dr. T. K. Holmes, contributes a paper on *Pioneer Life in Kent County*, which is mainly based on traditionary sources, and is chiefly interesting for its notes on social history. An excellent paper on *Lord Selkirk's Baldoon Settlement*, which was situated in the county of Kent, is from the pen of the late Dr. G. W. Mitchell of Wallaceburg, whose death took place as the paper was in the press. Mrs. J. P. Dunn writes on *The Roman Catholic Church in Kent*; and Mr. Charles E. Beeston, under the heading of *The Old Log School House*, contributes some notes on the history of education in the county. A few paragraphs by Mr. Thomas Scullard describe *The Birth of Chatham*. The county of Kent is a district of considerable historical interest, and the Kent Historical Society has the opportunity for a useful career before it; in the meantime it has made a good beginning.

The publications of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society have gained an enviable reputation for the scholarly character of their text. That reputation is not only sustained but enhanced by the last volume of its *Papers and Records*.† The volume contains two chief items. The first is *The Bell and Laing School Papers*, an exact reprint of some letters and documents relating to the early schools of the Bay of Quinté district, some of them dating back as far as the end of the eighteenth century. The papers were presented by Dr. Canniff to the Society in 1869; they have been used since then by the late Dr. Hodgins in his *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* and by Mr. W. S. Herrington in his *History of Lennox and Addington*; but their publication now is nevertheless to be welcomed. The text is admirably annotated by Mr. C. M. Warner. The second item is *An Early School Register*, dated 1831-2,

**Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses*. Chatham, Ontario. 1914. Pp. 42.

†*Lennox and Addington Historical Society: Papers and Records*. Vol. V. Napanee, Ontario. 1914. Pp. 65.

printed *literatim et verbatim*. The teacher who kept the register seems to have been a John C. Clark who had taught school in the Bay of Quinté district as far back as 1786. The register is of course mainly interesting on account of the names which it contains; but there is appended to it a sort of journal, filled mainly with meteorological notes. Curiously enough, the journal contains nothing of a political nature, although as Mr. W. S. Herrington points out in the notes he supplies, "Marshall Spring Bidwell and Peter Perry were making things pretty lively for the Family Compact about this time". The volume is supplied with an excellent index, something in which the publications of local historical societies are usually deficient.

The last volume of the publications of the London and Middlesex Historical Society* relates exclusively to education in the London district. Dr. C. T. Campbell writes entertainingly of *Robert Wilson, The Pioneer Teacher*, "the first teacher in London who had a professional training in a Normal school". A paper on *London Public Schools, 1848-1871* is contributed by Mr. C. B. Edwards; and one on *The London Grammar School and Collegiate Institute* by Mr. F. W. C. McCutcheon. These papers will be found supplementary in places to the late Dr. Hodgins's *Documentary History of Education*. A short sketch of the growth of *The Western University*, by Dr. N. C. James, concludes the collection of papers; Dr. James tells an interesting story, and he makes clear that there is an undoubted place for the Western University, but he should know better than to refer to the University of Toronto as "Toronto University" (p. 41).

The Niagara Historical Society has issued as No. 26 of its publications a paper by Colonel Cruikshank entitled *Notes on the History of the District of Niagara, 1791-1793*.†

**Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*. Part V. [London, Ontario.] 1914. Pp. 47.

†*Notes on the History of the District of Niagara, 1791-1793*. By Colonel E. A. Cruikshank. [Niagara.] 1914. (Niagara Historical Society: No. 26.)

As the title indicates, the paper possesses little coherence. It is made up of copious extracts from the unpublished official correspondence for these years, of a return of mills in the district of Nassau by the surveyor-general, and of the reprint of a number of pages relating to Niagara in a comparatively rare book entitled *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792*, by P. Campbell. The advantage of the paper is that it contains much original material not otherwise easily accessible. We venture to think, however, that it would have been better had these been printed as original documents, with annotations, rather than in their present unorganized form.

The annual report of the Thunder Bay Historical Society* contains several papers of purely local interest. Mr. J. J. Wells recounts the *History of Fort William*; Mrs. M. Slipper tells the story of *Port Arthur's First Boom*; Mr. Peter McKellar tells the inner history of an unfortunate mining venture near Michipicoten, under the title of *The Otter Head Tin Swindle*; and Miss J. Robin narrates *The Story of Fort William Mission, with a Brief Sketch of some of its Missionaries*. Some interesting notes on early communications with the West are contained in Mr. Donald McKellar's *History of the Post Office and Early Mail Service*.

The Waterloo Historical Society has issued its first two annual reports. A large part of the first report† is taken up with the details of organization and the proceedings of the society. There are, however, two items of historical interest. A synopsis of a lecture on the early history of Waterloo County by the president of the society, Mr. W. H. Breithaupt, is presented; and an interesting paper by the same writer, on *Some German Settlers of Waterloo County*, is printed in full. A photograph of a settler's waggon of 1807

**The Thunder Bay Historical Society: Fourth Annual Report*. [Fort William.] 1912-13. Pp. 36.

†*First Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society*. Berlin, Canada. 1913. Pp. 20.

which has been presented to the society, is included in the report. The second report* has a paper on the *History of the Galt Public Library* by Mr. James E. Kerr, and an account of the *School History of Waterloo County and Berlin* by Mr. Thomas Pearce. An address by Dr. Otto Klotz, the Dominion Astronomer, on *The Boundaries of Canada* is printed; and the frontispiece is a photograph of an Indian deed granting to Philip Stedman in 1795 a tract of land substantially coterminous with what are now the townships of North and South Dumfries.

What the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto publishes always includes original material. Its present report† contains a very interesting paper on *Early Roads in York* by Miss K. M. Lizars; and the diary of a Scottish botanist, John Goldie, who tramped through Upper Canada from Kingston to Niagara in 1819. Miss Lizars's paper is characterized by some obscurity of language, but it is based on an exhaustive knowledge of the old maps of the Toronto district, and will be found full of value for the student of early Upper Canadian roads. An admirable feature of the paper is the reproduction of three early maps. John Goldie's diary is somewhat disappointing: his main interest was botanical research, and his notes on political or social history are scanty. He has, however, an interesting description of York, which did not impress him favourably. He says that "it can only be said, strictly speaking, to possess one street"; and he says that the street was mended "by first turning it completely up with a plough as if to sow grain, and afterwards throwing the earth from the sides and heights upon the middle and into the hollows". In the harbour "the bulrushes grew some feet above water at nearly one hundred yards distant from the land".

**Second Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society.* Berlin, Canada. 1914. Pp. 53.

†*Annual Report and Transaction No. 12 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.* 1912-1913. Pp. 40.

(4) The Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section X (Vols. xix and xx): *The Prairie Provinces.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. ix, xii, 602.

The editors of *Canada and its Provinces* have evidently had their difficulties in planning the arrangement of the volumes. They have found it necessary to deal with the provincial history of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in one section; and yet the phase of their history which really binds these provinces together, the story of their early discovery and exploitation, the editors have been obliged to relegate to another section. The present volumes have therefore a somewhat incomplete and fragmentary appearance; but this was perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances.

The volumes have been prepared under the special supervision of Mr. D. M. Duncan, who contributes an admirable introduction, tracing the general outlines of the development of the prairie provinces. In not a few points, Mr. Duncan's brief introduction is more illuminating and penetrating than the more detailed monographs that follow it.

The first volume is devoted to the history of colonization and politics. The essays on "The Red River Settlement" and "The Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912" are written by Professor Chester Martin, of the University of Manitoba. They are based on the most thorough and exhaustive research. Mr. Martin has used freely the Selkirk correspondence in the Dominion Archives, the files of former Manitoba periodicals and journals, and a wide variety of fugitive and scattered materials which have not hitherto been pressed into service. Everywhere he goes back to the sources. In places, it is true, his narrative is somewhat encumbered with quotations from original docu-

ments; and here and there it is difficult to see the woods for the trees. But this defect, such as it is, may well be overlooked in a monograph which is a model of sound historical research and critical examination of evidence.

The rest of the volume is occupied with Principal Edmund H. Oliver's chapters on the general history of the territories of Saskatchewan and Alberta from the year 1870 to the present time. The political history of these provinces, both before and after their incorporation is somewhat prosaic; and Mr. Oliver has not succeeded in investing it with much attractiveness. But his account of the colonization of the country is full of interest and humour. The diary of the old inhabitant which he prints illustrating the growth of Calgary deserves to become a classic. Examples of western journalism, quotations from settlers' journals, extracts from government reports, are all used to illustrate the narrative. One error must be noted: Charles II was the cousin of Prince Rupert, not his uncle (p. 147).

The second volume contains a variety of articles. The most important of these, from an historical standpoint, is Mr. J. W. Dafoe's survey of the "Economic History of the Prairie Provinces, 1870-1913". The story of the social and economic development of the Canadian West during the last forty years constitutes, as Mr. Dafoe says, "a veritable romance, not easily matched in the world's records". In spite, however, of what has already been done, Mr. Dafoe makes it clear that only a beginning has been made. He calculates that "only about eight per cent. of the available land is as yet under cultivation in western Canada". It is reassuring to notice that the overwhelming majority of homestead entries in the prairie provinces are still by English-speaking people. To describe the economic development of the West during the last forty years in about forty pages was no light task; yet Mr. Dafoe has packed a great deal into the space allotted to him. A kindred subject, the economic resources of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, is dealt with by other hands. Mr. W. J. Black writes on Manitoba; Dr. W. J. Rutherford on Saskatchewan; and Mr. George

Harcourt on Alberta. These papers, however, call for no especial comment here.

The volume contains also a number of papers dealing with subjects of a constitutional nature. Mr. John A. Reid, in a paper on "The Provincial Executive Organizations", describes the methods of administration followed in the prairie provinces. These do not differ in the three provinces in principle, and only slightly in form. Mr. Charles Morse deals with "The Judicial Systems of the Prairie Provinces"; here the Manitoba arrangements, which have a history of their own, are discussed separately from the arrangements in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Mr. Archibald B. Clark reviews the history of public finance in the prairie provinces, under the heading of "Finance and Taxation", and the history of local government, under the heading of "Municipal Institutions". The latter paper is especially interesting on account of its treatment of municipal taxation in the West.

Lastly, three chapters are devoted to education. Mr. S. E. Lang deals with the "History of Education in Manitoba", though in a very guarded and non-committal manner; Mr. John M. MacEachran writes the "History of Education in Alberta"; and President Walter C. Murray contributes an interesting sketch of the "History of Education in Saskatchewan". On the whole, these volumes will compare not unfavourably in interest and accuracy with any others in *Canada and its Provinces*. Apart from Mr. Martin's chapters, they contain perhaps less of a strictly historical nature than other volumes; but everywhere they touch the present in a vivid and informing way.

The Canadian North-West, its Early Development and Legislative Records. Vol. I. Edited by E. H. Oliver. Ottawa: published by authority of the Secretary of State under the direction of the Archivist. 1914. Pp. 688.

Students of the history of Western Canada will be grateful to Principal Oliver for his courage in undertaking the almost

impossible task of compressing into two volumes a documentary history of the Canadian North-West. In a very real sense one of the prairie provinces and part of another must be considered not the youngest but the oldest of present British dominions on this continent; and perhaps no district, young or old, has had a more perplexing variety of administration. For two centuries the constitution was a Royal charter, amplified to include the rest of the North-West by an Act of Parliament in 1821. It was by virtue of this charter that the grant of Assiniboia was made to Selkirk in June, 1811; but scarcely a single stage of development from that date to the transfer to Canada in 1870 was free from controversy and uncertainty. During the first decade, indeed, if the charter could be said to form the constitution, it must be admitted, as Lincoln said of the United States during the civil war, that "the constitution had a rough time of it". The Hudson's Bay Company submitted regulations to the Colonial Office and twice pressed for a definite ruling upon their powers, without being "able to obtain it". Meantime warrants were issued against Selkirk himself for trial in Lower and Upper Canada. It was only the coalition of 1821 and the Act of that year that brought anything like order out of chaos. Even then the administration depended admittedly upon the "law-abiding character of the people". The Governor, as Lieut.-Colonel Caldwell said, was "Jack in office, and did everything". The administration of justice "was a farce", and was little more than arbitration. There was no vestige of election; scarcely a vestige of representation. There were no less than two so-called provisional governments before the transfer was effected to the Canadian Dominion. The task of giving "a complete picture of Pioneer Legislation and a survey of Constitutional Development" throughout this welter of controversies is not an enviable one; and even if much revision is found necessary, Principal Oliver has earned the gratitude of every student for making a beginning—and a good one. For university teaching in the West the book is a veritable god-send and the next volume will be eagerly expected.

The documents are arranged under five headings: A. The Royal Charter of 1870; B. The District of Assiniboia, 1811-1870; C. The Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830-1845; D. The Period of Transition, 1866-1870; E. The North-West Territories, 1869-1905. Of these only A, B and part of C are included in the one volume hitherto published. It must be said at the outset that this arrangement seems a little unnatural and incoherent. The charter is of course the basis of subsequent development; but neither before 1811 nor after was the charter considered to apply to Athabaska or in fact to any of the districts (except those drained by waters flowing into Hudson Bay) which afterwards went to form the North-West Territories. For this vast stretch of country the primary document is not the Hudson's Bay Company's charter at all, but the Act of 1821 "for regulating the Fur Trade, and for establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America". This Act was so framed, indeed, as to include the Hudson's Bay Territories also, although within these limits it remained inoperative*; beyond these limits at any rate it formed the only constitutional basis of administration, the fundamental document which gave validity to all special licenses and administrative measures from Rupert's Land proper to the Pacific Ocean. Yet neither the Act of 1821 nor any one of the special licenses based upon that Act is included in *The Canadian North-West* or directly referred to, as far as we have been able to discover, in the introduction or the footnotes.

Similarly it might be objected that while the Southern Department and for that matter the Columbia Department are perhaps justifiably omitted; even for the Northern Department the survey begins only at 1830. There is nothing bearing upon the Company proper during the long conflict with the North-West Company, at a time when the instructions to Auld and Hillier in the Selkirk papers are even more enlightening than those to Macdonnell and others for the comparatively small district of settlement in

*See evidence of Ellice before the Select Committee of 1857.

Assiniboia. To say this, however, is merely to admit that a quarter cannot be compressed into a bushel; or at most that "the gulf that lies between" the charter (as Principal Oliver points out) and the Saskatchewan and Alberta Acts, has proved at this stage of research too wide for the space and materials available.

The documents relating to Assiniboia are grouped under (1) "The Selkirk Period", (2) "The Company Period". The former are taken chiefly from the Selkirk papers and are grouped about the names of the governors or administrators; the latter consist chiefly of minutes of the Council of Assiniboia. It is of course inevitable that excerpts of less than 100 pages from more than 20,000 folios of the Selkirk papers should be tantalizingly fragmentary; there are only five extracts, for instance, during the extremely important period from 1816 to 1822; but until the time comes when we shall have, in at least a dozen good volumes, the kind of public records for the West that have been edited by Dr. Theal for South Africa, Principal Oliver must be congratulated upon undertaking a task which he may be assured will be more satisfactory to the public than it must have been to himself. The minutes of the Northern Department for July 1832, midway through section C, bring the first volume to a close.

The proof-reading and the inexact copies of certain documents chosen for publication—if one may say so without being unduly critical—leave something to be desired. The copy of Selkirk's grant, taken it seems from Martin's *Hudson's Bay Land Tenures*, differs from the copy in the Dominion Archives taken from the Colony Register A, by more than 975 variations, mostly, it is true, very trivial; and by nearly as many from the authoritative notarial copy of the original deposited by John Halkett at Washington. Similarly the copy of the map accompanying the grant is scarcely to be compared even with the photograph in the Provincial Library at Winnipeg, taken, it seems, from the map in the old Colony Register A.

Principal Oliver's introduction bearing upon the general constitutional development of the prairie provinces, the District of Assiniboia and the Council of the North-West Territories, is scholarly and full of valuable information. This does not mean that it is quite free from trivial mistakes, or that it cannot be said to reflect some of the shortcomings of the documents themselves; but the author has had the courage to touch upon such a range of topics—in the biographical sketches especially, which include more than a hundred names—that a few inaccuracies are easily overlooked. The information with regard to the personnel and meetings of the various councils is particularly valuable, and represents a vast amount of patient research. If Principal Oliver copes as successfully with the thornier "Period of Transition", the second volume gives promise of being even more illuminating than the first.

CHESTER MARTIN

The objects of the publishers of *The Prairie Provinces of Canada*,* as frankly stated in the preface, were to produce a "reference work", "at once interesting and informative", and of value not only to Canadians but "in commercial and financial circles in Great Britain". One is therefore prepared to expect little history and much shrewd business; as a matter of fact the historical sketch by Mr. Percy Evans Lewin is perhaps the most attractive feature of the book, though the proportion of history to business (Mr. Lewin has only 38 out of 449 pages) is not excessive. Some of the other articles are by no means devoid of historical interest. Many in fact contain information of very great value for purposes of reference. Mr. Blue, the provincial librarian of Alberta writes on the administration of that province; Mr. Rowley of the Bank of Commerce writes on British and American capital; Miss Cora Hind writes on the grain trade; Dr. W. A. McIntyre writes on education; Dr. John-

**The Prairie Provinces of Canada, their History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources*. Compiled by Henry J. Boam. Edited by Ashley G. Brown. London: Sells Limited. 1914. Pp. 451.

stone on early Church history; Dr. G. A. Young on geology; Dr. Wallace on mineral resources; Mr. C. F. Rowland on commerce; and various phases of agriculture, forestry, fisheries and other commercial activities, are dealt with by equally qualified authorities. It can scarcely be said, however, that the amount of valuable material of this sort is at all in proportion to the profusion of illustration—of advertisement in fact—which accompanies it. The articles by Mr. Lewin, on the history and the literature of the prairie provinces, are worthy of special notice. In the space available, less than 40 pages, it may be surmised that no new additions to historical knowledge are easily possible; but the whole account is lucidly and effectively written. The article on the literature of the prairie provinces especially is full of meat, and forms in itself a most valuable sketch of western Canadian bibliography. There are a few errors. The first settlers on August 30, 1812 (p. 24), camped not "on the site of the present city of Winnipeg, at a spot not far distant from the fort of the Hudson's Bay Company", but across the river in what is now St. Boniface. There seems to have been no Hudson's Bay post at the Forks in the winter of 1812. The "deMeuron" settlers (p. 30) are confused with the Swiss settlers who "must have proved", as Sheriff Ross says, "an acquisition to any community, being a quiet, orderly, and moral people". It is not quite accurate to say (p. 32) that "the mob released the prisoner"; Sayer was set free by the court, nominally because he had received verbal permission to trade. Lieut.-Colonel Crofton (p. 32) was not "Governor of the colony" (*Report of Select Committee*, 1857, p. 170) and Louis Riel was not "of pure blood", since his father was a French métis.

Pages de souvenirs et d'histoire. Par l'Abbé J. M. Jolys.
Saint-Pierre-Jolys. [1914.] Pp. xvi, 240.

In general scope this volume is a type of book which all too infrequently finds its way into print. The Abbé Jolys tells the story of the little parish of Saint-Pierre-Jolys in Manitoba—its settlement, its early primitive development,

the devotion of its founders and of those who sought to guide them. Much of the information is too local for general interest; but the lists of the "forefathers of the hamlet" and the story of many of the purely local incidents are too valuable to lose. Such a record compiled now while it is yet possible in the other old parishes of Manitoba would afford a veritable mine of information hitherto but very partially available.

Here and there Father Jolys has written pages which deserve to live for other reasons. It would be difficult to find except by Ross a more telling description of the buffalo hunt or the boat brigade; all the more effective because written from the standpoint of the sturdy *métis* themselves: "*c'étaient des hommes*". The sketch of Father Ritchot is written in the same vein, increased by devotion for the cause and veneration for the man. The adroitness "*comme un vieux renard*" at Red River and at Ottawa, the commanding stature, "*presque un colosse*", "*traits accentués et fermement dessinés*", "*sourcils noirs et très fournis comme la barbe, s'arquant sur des yeux de diamant noir*", receive here a more unguarded tribute than has hitherto been paid to this redoubtable champion of the French cause throughout the stormy period of the insurrection. "*Ami et conseiller intime de son archevêque, Monseigneur Alexandre-Antonin Taché, nous pouvons dire que ces deux hommes étaient faits pour se comprendre.*"

In dealing with the insurrection itself it must be said that Father Jolys adds little to historical knowledge; while the language used in expressing the traditional view of the French Roman Catholic party is so unguarded and unjustifiable as to be unredeemed even by the extracts from Ritchot's journal. "*Parler de rébellion*", says Father Jolys of Riel and the *métis*, "*c'est fausser l'histoire*"; the next sentence continues, "*Les rebelles ont été les Boulton, les Schultz, les Scott*". Of Scott it is said that he was "*condamné dans les formes et exécuté. Messieurs les Orangistes en ont fait un martyr, tant pis pour eux!*" Sir John A. Macdonald is charged with "*l'audace, que dis-je, l'effron-*

terie". The school clause (p. 43) is referred to as "une condition *sine qua non* des arrangements" for the Manitoba Act; it is not stated how that clause came to reach Ottawa in Father Ritchot's list of rights and not in Judge Black's list published in the British blue-book. The métis "lançait une proclamation" of provincial government on December 8; but it is not stated that the document itself declares "the people of Rupert's Land" "free and exempt from all allegiance" to the Hudson's Bay Company from November 24, a week before McDougall's blunder of December 1 and more than a week after Governor McTavish by formal proclamation had called upon those who had "virtually set at defiance the Royal authority" to "disperse . . . under the pains and penalties of the law". It is difficult to explain away insurrection against constituted authority under the Crown. Colonel Wolseley, says Father Jolys (p. 32), "se réleva foudre de guerre". "Tout chamarré de cordons et tout *tintinnabulant* de croix et de médailles qu'il puisse être, ce général est un vilain monsieur que l'histoire doit attacher au pilori". Colonel Wolseley had used the word "banditti" in referring to Riel and his followers on August 24: *hinc illae lacrymae*. There is evidence that Wolseley was thinking of the empty wine vaults, the pillaged safe, and the plundered stores of the Hudson's Bay Company. Archbishop Langevin, indeed, suggests in the introduction (p. vii) that the author could have modified with advantage "la crudité, j'allais dire la cruauté, de certaines expressions". One may point out these unfortunate excesses without either condoning the mistakes that were made or minimizing the justice of Bishop Taché's representations at Ottawa on his way to Rome.

CHESTER MARTIN

A History of Saskatchewan and the Old North West. By Norman Fergus Black. Second Edition. Regina: North West Historical Company. [1913.] Pp. xxiv, 606.

An important contribution to the history of the West has been made by Dr. Norman Black in his *History of*

Saskatchewan. The introductory chapters cover the work of exploration and fur-trade. Here, of course, the author does not claim to make any addition to our historical knowledge of the region west of the Great Lakes, but he has performed for the general reader the distinct service of quoting extensively from important primary and secondary sources. It would be interesting to know upon what sure data he ventures the assertion on page 120: "Accordingly in 1834 it was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company under a secret arrangement". Considerable investigation has hitherto been unsuccessful in determining the precise date of the retransfer of the District of Assiniboia. The date was undoubtedly in the middle of the thirties, but to dispose of the matter so summarily is courageous.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the little republic at Portage La Prairie. It was simply the failure to appreciate prairie conditions that led to the establishment of this provisional government and to the troubles of 1869-70 and 1885. The author's language is somewhat unrestrained, but his point of view is undoubtedly correct when he declares,—

"The essential fact remains that by way of protest against the colossal folly and unpardonable bungling of the Imperial and Dominion authorities, an extra-constitutional government held full sway for a period of about nine months. Had the manifest lessons involved in this unfortunate affair been duly taken to heart, the more serious and bloody uprising of 1885 in Saskatchewan would have been averted" (p. 144).

With chapter xii begins the history of Saskatchewan and rightly enough the small-pox epidemic of 1870 is given due prominence. An interesting incident in the early history was the illegal appointment of a small Executive Council by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald on October 21, 1870, and subsequently of a larger Executive Council to which nominations and appointments were made at later dates, and which held twenty sessions during the period from March 8, 1873, to December 14, 1875. The author's information on this point must have come from files in the now defunct department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, and from the unpublished records in the Legislative Library of Manitoba, which are in course of publication by the Dominion Archivist.

Dr. Black has divided his subject according to the tenure of office of the lieutenant-governor. As a chronological expedient this method is useful. But it gives an entirely erroneous impression of the nature of the constitutional development of the Territories. With the election of the first representative, Mr. Lawrence Clarke, and especially with the energetic campaign inaugurated in 1884, the line of interest follows the struggle for responsible government, and this should have received the greater emphasis.

The most interesting and valuable portion of the volume is the account of the uprising of 1885. An important collection of excerpts dealing with the religious aspect of the uprising leaves little room for doubt as to the unsound mental condition of Riel in the spring of 1885.

The most critical period in the political history of the North West Territories began with the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly. The old North-West Council had passed. A municipal, judicial and educational framework had been devised, and representative government gained for the whole of the Territories. Immediately the struggle for complete responsible government was set on foot. It is a thrilling story, and the author has made much of it, even though his narrative smacks too largely of the Journals. He has failed to give us much of great personal interest in his recital of this by far the most vital constitutional issue that the Territories ever faced.

The author gives an excellent account of the educational system, as might be expected, for on this subject he possesses first hand information.

The volume, like all provincial or local annals, lacks sustained interest. The only dramatic event in the history of the Territories was the uprising of 1885, and here the author is at his best. The story of development and growth, of struggle for responsible government and the provincial status, is a valuable contribution to Canadian history. There is no more fascinating story anywhere than that of the constitutional development of the Territories during the period 1870-1905. But it needs a different perspective

from that given by the author. The uprising of 1885 does not belong—except in a local sense—to the history of the Territories so much as to the history of the Dominion. It concerns Ottawa rather than the valley of the Saskatchewan. Its importance consists rather in what might have happened than in what actually did occur. Except that it drew attention to the West it plays no great rôle in the political history of the Territories.

In a work of this size one is bound to find what the author himself calls “genuine historical errors”. On the whole these are surprisingly few. It is not so easy to overlook what becomes the monotonous quotation from Journals and documents. Yet the most cursory investigation into western history will convince the critic that no other course lay open to the author, for the most ordinary Journals and documents have been preserved with the most extraordinary slackness, and are often quite inaccessible.

The author deserves special congratulation upon the issue of this second edition, for it has the conspicuous merit of omitting what he calls “a large number of interesting and valuable biographical sketches”. One is glad to read that the author disclaims “both responsibility and credit” for these. They were in many cases the product of the itch for fame on the part of the *nouveaux riches* of the recent real estate boom, who in no sense deserved the literary immortality to which they aspired.

History of the Province of Alberta. By Archibald Oswald MacRae. Two volumes. Calgary: The Western Canada History Co. 1912. Pp. xxvi, 1042.

The first volume alone of this work deals with the history of Alberta. Mr. MacRae assumes no responsibility for the second, which is simply a congeries of short biographical sketches, without any arrangement, either alphabetical or by geographical districts, and with no index. Of the first volume it may be said first that the typographical work is on the whole satisfactory. The type is clear and readable, the paper is good, and the wide margins quite admirable.

The proof-reading has been only fair. We are afraid, however, that the proof-readers cannot be held responsible for all the mistakes and particularly for the quantity of misspellings in proper names. Alexander Mackenzie, the prime minister of Canada, is mentioned twice (pp. 256 and 396). He appears both times as "Sir Alexander MacKenzie". His namesake the explorer, also "Mackenzie", is often referred to, and always as "MacKenzie". Alexander Henry the elder is given as "Hendry" on pages 8 and 9 and also in the index, and the same mistake is made at least once (p. 29) in connection with the younger Henry. There appears to have been in the author's mind some confusion between the Henry's and Anthony Hendry. Similar inaccuracies appear with irritating frequency, such as "British North American Act" (p. 196), "Hudson Bay Co." (p. 114).

Mr. MacRae's writing, while making no pretension to style, is clear and straightforward. But his sense of proportion is not just. Admitting that it would be difficult to disentangle the history of Alberta before 1905 from that of the North-West it seems to us that 456 pages out of a total of 474 are too much to devote to the early period. The same lack of perspective is surely responsible for giving a hundred pages (pages 276-376) to an account of the proceedings in connection with treaties no. 6 and no. 7 with the Indians, including the texts of the treaties. Mr. MacRae has, in fact, written a chronicle, not a history. And he has not improved his book by making it to a large extent a series of direct quotations, chosen with little discrimination, from previous chronicles, or from official publications. The hundred pages on the Indian treaties are an extreme instance of this wholesale reproduction. The author puts forward in his preface the plea that his publishers were eager for copy. He should remember that his readers, too, have rights. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to add that there is no connected treatment of the growth of political or municipal institutions; and almost nothing on the economic and social problems of the province. The Index is entirely inadequate, and there is no map.

In a little volume on the La Vérendrye family* Mr. Burpee has given us a readable book based upon original research. He has succeeded in popularizing some of the wealth of material found in the Dominion Archives. The narrative follows the exploits of Pierre de La Vérendrye from his birth to his death and ends with the enforced abandonment by his sons of the dream of exploration. Pierre de La Vérendrye took part in raids against the English settlements, fought in the War of the Spanish Succession in Flanders and returned to Canada to engage in the fur-trade. With the project of western exploration in mind he accepted in 1726 the command of an important trading fort on Lake Nipigon, where he learned from Ochagach of a great lake out of which a river flowed westward. He secured a monopoly of the western fur-trade and set out on his quest in 1731. The author has written the story of the ensuing explorations in a vivid and graceful style. It is a wonderful record of triumph over hardships and obstacles of all kinds. Chains of posts were established from the Lakes to the heart of the prairies. Pierre's nephew La Jemeraye died, his son Jean de La Vérendrye with a small company was murdered by hostile Indians. Then came the expeditions to the Mandans and the ascent of the Saskatchewan. The failure of the search for the Western Sea, and the lack of appreciation of their work in official circles brought disappointment and ruin. But to La Vérendrye and his sons belongs the credit for the discovery and exploration of much of the central prairies. An adequate map and excellent illustrations accompany the volume.

A pamphlet by Arthur S. Bennett†, the prime object of which is to advertise the agricultural possibilities of the Carrot river valley in Saskatchewan, has the additional interest of beginning with an historical survey of early exploration and

**Pathfinders of the Great Plains; a chronicle of La Vérendrye and his Sons.* By Lawrence J. Burpee. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. 116.

†*Chevalier de La Corne and the Carrot river valley of Saskatchewan.* By Arthur S. Bennett. n.p. [1914]. Pp. 40.

settlement. The Chevalier de La Corne succeeded Legardeur de Saint Pierre in command of the posts taken over by the latter three years earlier from the La Vérendrye family. In the following year, 1754, La Corne seeded a few acres in the Carrot river valley and reaped a crop from them, thus becoming entitled to be regarded as the father of agriculture in the North-West. Subsequent early travellers who mention the farming operations in this valley are Anthony Hendry, who was entertained by La Corne, and Alexander Mackenzie. Hendry has left a detailed account of his visit which is the main source of our information.

An interesting little volume by Mr. Charles Bert Reed* consists of three papers read before the Chicago Historical Society, on subjects varying widely in scope and treatment but relating generally to the West. In the first, from which the book takes its name, the author traces the story of "the Hudson's Bay Company from its origin to modern times"; in the second, *The Beaver Club*, is given an interesting account—largely from traditional sources, one infers—of the North-West Company at the zenith of its influence; the third paper, *A Dream of Empire*, is the story of "the adventures of Tonty in Old Louisiana". The author anticipates "reproach for not keeping more closely to modern methods of historical presentation"; but it may be said at once that for poise and evenness of judgment it would be possible to go much further and to fare worse. In all three essays, as one would expect, the human interest is accentuated above—sometimes unconsciously at the expense of—the demands of historical evidence. This is particularly true of the essay on *The Beaver Club*, which is thrown into the form of a conversation with a descendant of a member of that famous body. Selkirk went to Prince Edward Island, not in 1805, but in 1803 and again in 1804. The traditional story of Selkirk's scrutiny into the affairs of the North-West Company, of which, it may be said in passing, the first authentic mention seems

**Masters of the Wilderness*. By Charles Bert Reed. (Chicago Historical Society, Fort Dearborn Series.) Chicago. 1914. Pp. xii, 144.

to have been made no less than thirteen years after Selkirk's visit to the Beaver Club, is placed in 1809. Selkirk's stay in Montreal took place during the winter of 1803-4. The "colony" in 1811 was not "of seventy people"; was not indeed composed of "poor agitated immigrants" at all, but of a band of men, eventually less than twenty in number, in Selkirk's personal employment to prepare the way for permanent settlers. It was "Sheriff" Spencer, and not "Governor" Macdonell, who "had been arrested" in the autumn of 1814; and he had been sent not to Montreal but to Lac la Pluie. With the story of Tonty, of La Salle, and of Iberville, the author, one feels, is upon much more familiar ground; and the first paper is on the whole an even if somewhat highly coloured sketch of the Hudson's Bay Company. No evidence, however, is adduced for the startling statement that the Indian who failed to pay his debt was habitually "traced to his remote retreat in the bush" and "eventually he or his scalp was surely brought in by his haggard and wayworn captors". It is inaccurate to say of Fort Douglas that it took the name Fort Garry "after the massacre"; and the mistake is repeated that "the first colony of seventy people" arrived in 1811. The general policy of the Company, however, is fairly estimated; and the estimate is not an unfavourable one. Despite a lingering opposition to settlement and a jealous monopoly of trade, "not in vain has the Company lived and not without gratitude should it pass away".

The name of Peter Fidler has been hitherto little known even to students of Canadian history, and the available information about him has been of the scantiest description; yet he is a figure of some importance in the history of western exploration and surveying. It is therefore a pleasure to welcome Mr. Tyrrell's sketch of his life.* The sketch is based mainly on some of Fidler's original notebooks discovered by Mr. Tyrrell in the summer of 1912 at York

**Peter Fidler, Trader and Surveyor, 1769 to 1822.* By J. B. Tyrrell. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. ii, pp. 117-127.)

Factory. The extracts which Mr. Tyrrell makes from these notebooks illustrate the wealth of material which still lies locked up in the unpublished and inaccessible records of the Hudson's Bay Company. Fidler's notebooks make excellent reading. They give interesting accounts of the life at the time and in the places at which he was writing, and contain faithful records of the coming and going of his companions or competitors in the fur-trade. Fidler was an early friend and associate of David Thompson; but Mr. Tyrrell notes, with some curiosity, that the two men passed each other in 1805 between Cumberland House and Isle à la Crosse House without speaking. It would be interesting to know what lay behind this incident. Mr. Tyrrell's paper is full of interest to the student of the North-West fur-trade: one's only regret is that the proof-reading was not better. Athabaska, not "Athabasca" (*passim*), is the authorized spelling. "Harman" (p. 125) should be Harmon. And it is too bad in a learned society's transactions to see two such mis-spellings as "irascible" (p. 127) and "privelege" (p. 127).

The Land of Open Doors, being letters from Western Canada. By J. Burgon Bickersteth. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1914.] Pp. xxiv, 266.

In 1910 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York issued in England an appeal for funds to promote the mission work of the Church of England in western Canada. The rapid settlement of the country had outrun all the ordinary provisions for churches and ministrations of the clergy. Many centres of settlement were without places of worship of any denomination whatever. Children were growing up in total ignorance of the elements of religious knowledge. And this was in districts where the majority of settlers were emigrants from England. The answer to the appeal came quickly and liberally. Three mission headquarters were established, at Regina, Edmonton, and in Southern Alberta near Lethbridge. Missionaries, both ordained and lay, were sent out and attached to one or other of these three centres, from each of which a large tract of country was served. Mr. Bickersteth

is a layman who joined the mission station at Edmonton in the summer of 1911. His letters to his relatives in England during the next two years are reprinted in the volume before us, and describe with frankness the conditions of life in the new settlements and in the railway construction camps north and west of Edmonton.

The title of the book describes one of the characteristics of western Canada—its hospitality. In any country pioneers are helpful and obliging to one another, but the open-handed kindness of the West seems to be considered exceptional. The missionary was always welcome. To be sure, he gave good value for his entertainment, often distributing magazines and papers in places where the sole reading-matter had been Eaton's catalogue. In the railway construction camps the kindly reception was more remarkable, but we fancy that the author's tact had much to do with it. Many of the conversations which he quotes show how readily he could adapt his conversation to his surroundings. After a brisk exchange of repartee with the cook of one of these camps, the latter remarked that "a fellow on your job don't want to be too holy in this Western country, but I guess you'll be all right", and the author had some difficulty in deciding whether to consider this a compliment or the reverse.

The adaptability of English settlers to new conditions is a matter constantly referred to in the book. The author finds little reason for the popular idea that Englishmen are "no good" in the West. Some of the difficulties of pioneer life are clearly indicated. The hardships of the woman, accustomed to life in some suburb of a large town and suddenly transported to utter solitude with every household duty to discharge, have often been depicted. What is not so well known is the difficulty of establishing schools for children. The government grant of a school section does not always result in the establishment of a school. Local jealousies as to the site, or the selfish opposition of bachelor homesteaders to the small tax that would be imposed on them, sometimes operate to defer the erection of a school building for years.

The railway construction camps are in the parish of the missionary, and Mr. Bickersteth has some interesting things to say about them. The curse of the camps is whisky, smuggled in sometimes with the connivance of the boss, in order to hold his men. It is not an easy matter for a contractor to retain the services of the labourers whose travelling expenses he has paid up to the place where they are to work. There is much desertion, even wholesale desertion, by the men, to whom contract obligation means nothing. The life is hard, and the quarters in which the men eat and sleep often revolting. Most of the men are earning a "grub-stake" or have come down in the world, but are not "navvies" in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

Mr. Bickersteth has written an entertaining as well as interesting book. He has the human touch and his interest in human nature is deep. But he also has a seeing eye, and his graphic account of the conditions of life in this newest West will be valuable as a record of a phase that is even now, with the completion of the railways, passing away.

Seeds of Pine by "Janey Canuck"* is an impressionist picture of life on the verge of settlement in Alberta. The authoress went to the "end of steel" on the Grand Trunk Pacific when that railway was being laid through the Yellow-head Pass. She also motored to Athabaska Landing and took steamer there for Grouard, where the fiftieth anniversary of Bishop Grouard's consecration as priest was to be held. On other occasions apparently she visited Ruthenian settlements and Indian reserves. All these experiences, obtained at different times, are combined in the vivid and rollicking chapters of the book before us. It is not a narrative of facts, neither is it fiction. It is the product of imagination and sympathy playing freely over the incidents and scenes of travel. The account of Bishop Grouard and his work is perhaps the nearest approach to history in the volume.

**Seeds of Pine*. By Janey Canuck. London, New York, Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton. [1914.] Pp. 308.

(5) **The Province of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory**

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section XI (Vols. xxi and xxii): *The Pacific Province.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xii, xii, 660.

The two volumes of *Canada and its Provinces* relating to British Columbia and the Yukon District bring that work to completion, except for an Index Volume, which is promised to be on the most generous scale, including exhaustive references to the sources and authorities for every chapter.

The general plan of the volumes on British Columbia follows that of the volumes on the other provinces. About one-third is devoted to history proper, and the remainder to economic development, the judicial system, education, natural resources and the possibilities for the future. Much of this is not in any sense history. There is, for instance, a section called "History of Farming". The real history, under the sub-titles "Pioneer Farmers" and "Legislative Acts and Agriculture", occupies sixteen pages; the remaining twelve are devoted to "Agricultural Possibilities", "Agricultural Exhibitions", and "Conditions affecting Agriculture", portions of which would be appropriate enough in an immigration pamphlet, but in such a work as this are simply padding. Many other sections and sub-sections are of the same character, such as "The Panama Canal and the Lumber Trade", "The Forests and the Future". Two sections are on the Indian tribes of British Columbia, and in a manner deal with the history before the advent of European explorers, for they describe the organization and characteristics of the prehistoric population. Two other sections on the Yukon District and the northern Territories, by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, are in the main geographical and economic, the only real history of these vast territories being the history of exploration, which is dealt with in another volume of the work.

The history proper of British Columbia falls into three periods, the period of exploration, the history of the British colony before its entrance into the Dominion, and its history since that date. Mr. T. G. Marquis writes on the period of exploration. He gives a clear account of the discoveries by sea and of the intricate relations of Spanish, English and Americans at Nootka Sound towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the section on the explorers of the North-West Company Mr. Marquis accepts the idea formerly current that David Thompson's celebrated journey down the Columbia was for the purpose of anticipating the Astorians in establishing a post at the mouth of that river. He even says that the Company was "determined to forestall Astor if possible and commissioned Thompson to hasten to the Columbia and establish a post on the Pacific". There is no evidence for this, and in fact competent scholars like Mr. T. C. Elliott* who have studied Thompson's original journals of his expedition have come to the conclusion that Thompson had no idea of forestalling anybody, but was quietly and at his leisure pursuing an independent exploration of the entire course of the river, without any ulterior motive.

The section on "Colonial History" up to 1871, by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, begins with a statement which is at least debatable. He says, "Among the shortcomings [of the Hudson's Bay Company] lack of foresight or of broad business and political acumen were [*sic*] not to be numbered". There are many people who think that the Hudson's Bay Company was surprisingly ignorant of and indifferent to political tendencies in Canada. Some of the servants of the Company in the country were undoubtedly men of great ability and foresight. Such were Simpson, McLoughlin, and Douglas himself, the great figure of the first part of British Columbia's history as a colony. But their opinions and advice were too often ignored and rejected by the directors in London, and in consequence the company's policy

*See his article on Thompson in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, vol. xv, p. 125.

was often wrong. The standard instance is the settlement of Oregon, which McLoughlin knew to be inevitable, and which the Company resisted by every means in its power. In consequence, Oregon was lost not only to the Hudson's Bay Company but to Great Britain as well. Enlightened by this event the British government refused to allow the same policy to prevail in the territory north of the 49th parallel, as Mr. Gosnell relates, and the Company was thus prevented from perpetrating an even more disastrous blunder in British Columbia.

Mr. Gosnell suggests that at the beginning of the Crimean war a secret agreement was made between Russia and England "through the influence of the two fur companies, the Russian-American and the Hudson's Bay", not to practise hostilities on one another's American colonies. On the face of it such an agreement is extremely unlikely. Sufficient reasons existed, without assuming a definite agreement, for not diverting any military or naval force for operations on the Pacific coast, where there were no settlements that could be effectively injured, and where the enormous extent of territory rendered military occupation impossible. Mr. Gosnell does not say on what his suggestion is based, or whether he has any authority for it at all. The subsection on "The Founding of the Colony of British Columbia" betrays some confusion (of language at any rate) between Vancouver Island and the mainland colony, and indeed there is a certain incoherence about the entire section. The narrative of events is broken by much irrelevant detail about people, and has the character of reminiscences rather than history.

The concluding historical section, the political history of the province since 1871, by Judge Howay, is an admirable piece of work. The narrative proceeds by ministries, and the course of each main political controversy is carried on from one administration to another. Where minor questions seem important enough to be mentioned, they are given their proper place as transitory or ephemeral matters, and are not allowed to distract the reader from the

leading issues. In this way the organic development of British Columbian politics is clearly shown. Judge Howay is also very successful in conveying by a few skilful sentences an impression of the personality of the various political leaders. The consequence is that this section of political history, which might be expected to be dull by comparison with the romantic and exciting periods preceding it, is actually the most interesting part of the volume, and yet without any sacrifice of sane and sober historical truth.

The publishers' announcement of *Canada and its Provinces* says that maps have been prepared for the work. There are none in these two volumes on British Columbia, although the section on exploration would be greatly benefitted by having them. The many portrait illustrations are interesting and some also of the photographs of scenery.

British Columbia; From the Earliest Times to the Present.
Vols. I and II. By E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay. Vancouver: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 1914. Pp. 688, 727.

Both Mr. Scholefield, the provincial Archivist, and Judge Howay are especially qualified to write upon subjects pertaining to the history of British Columbia, and the publishers of this purely subscription work, for such it is, were very fortunate to secure their services. That such service has been conscientiously performed is clearly indicated by the text.

A "List of Authorities" covering thirty pages furnishes a bibliography of the history of the entire "Oregon country" of great value. The same may be said of the large number of charts and maps, showing ideas prevalent for many years as to the whole north-west coast of America and the tracks of the various navigators. The illustrations also are numerous and illuminating and the binding outwardly attractive. But the paper used is of poor quality, the typographical errors all too apparent, and the indexes open to criticism for many sins of omission.

A connected and well-balanced history of British Columbia is at the best difficult to write, and is necessarily more so when the work is by two authors under division of periods. There are four international questions involved. There are years of discovery and exploration of the coast line entirely distinct from the discovery and exploration of the interior districts. This was followed by settlement and development in districts practically without intercommunication. Some reason then exists for a certain disappointment to the reader who has anticipated a more continuous chronological narrative.

The plan adopted in the first volume, which is by Mr. Scholefield, is a series of chapters which are essentially monographs upon the different navigators and explorers and upon the international questions of Nootka and the Oregon boundary. That these are very interesting and for the most part accurately written does not constitute them the history of the province at that time, and they contain much that is introductory and extraneous. For instance, in the chapter upon Sir Alexander Mackenzie we are told about La Vérendrye and Jonathan Carver seeking for the lands of the shining mountains and Samuel Hearne seeking for the river of shining metals, and the rivalries between the North-West and the X Y Companies, events long prior to the time when Mackenzie reached the province. And in the chapter upon the Hudson's Bay Company the narrative starts with 1670, and describes more of the activities of the Company south of the 49th parallel than north of it. But it contains much that the non-professional reader ought to know and for the audience especially to be reached this plan has much merit. The chapters upon the Oregon boundary question, Simon Fraser, the founding of Victoria, and the colony of Vancouver Island are especially well written. It is worthy of note that in the text of this volume (except in the last four chapters, which are miscellaneous, by special writers) the name British Columbia is written less than twenty times; no such political division yet existed.

The second volume, which is by Judge Howay, begins with the discovery of gold in British Columbia, and describes with clarity and interest the rush of population into the Fraser river and Cariboo districts, the organization of the colony of British Columbia by Lord Lytton in 1858, and the union of the two colonies in 1866. It then carries on the story of wonderful material development under a succession of ministries to the present time, a long and by far the more productive period. We note a suggestion of the gazetteer in parts, some tendency to favour one district as against another, and a few repetitions from the first volume. It is too soon to do more than record the prominent events of the greater part of this period and the author has evidently felt this limitation. His treatment of the earlier years and the San Juan dispute is particularly good.

Accuracy has been the aim of the authors, and there are comparatively few errors of fact. There was no room for the philosophical reasoning to be found in the perfect history. The authors have written for their audience, the people of British Columbia. In appendices and transcripts much real original material is included.

T. C. ELLIOTT

A little book on *British Columbia** by Ford Fairford aims at giving, as fairly and accurately as possible, particulars of the natural resources of British Columbia awaiting development. Into its thirteen chapters is crammed a vast amount of information upon its financial and social conditions, rural and urban life, sports, climate, labour conditions, cost of living, mineral wealth, and resources in agriculture, fisheries and timber. The information is however a cumulation of figures from the official publications and not the result of the personal study of these various subjects. Some errors may be noted. The area of Yale district is not 15,850,000 square miles (p. 4); the whole area of the province is only 347,600 square miles. The sessional allowance is not \$600 (p. 11) but \$1,600. The coast of

**British Columbia*. By Ford Fairford. London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. 1914. Pp. xiv, 138.

the province is not swept by two opposing currents, the Japanese and the Arctic (p. 19), but by the Japanese only. The Hudson's Bay Company did not establish public schools on Vancouver Island in 1865 (p. 25); their ownership had actually ceased in 1859. Nor did that Company open coal mines at Nanaimo in 1851 (p. 30); the exact date of James Douglas's letter of instructions is August 24, 1852. In 1860 and 1861 Cariboo did not produce fifty millions in gold (p. 31); the correct figures are less than five millions. Neither salmon nor sturgeon are increasing as stated (pp. 67, 74); the report of the Conservation Commission makes the contrary plain.

The *History of British Columbia**, ostensibly written by Mr. Scholefield and Mr. Gosnell, is a very creditable production externally. There are many engravings of the early explorers, governors, and public men; of judges, premiers, speakers and members of parliament, and capitalists, with Chief Cooper of the Songhees Indians as the rear guard; and of other living persons of more or less prominence in the history of the province. The work was not printed for general circulation, but for distribution (to quote the language of the publishers' foreword) among "the necessarily limited and selected clientèle"—that is to say, the patrons, whose photographs are reproduced. It is quite impossible to review the first portion, by Mr. Scholefield, for the reason, as the publishers explain in their foreword, that it is not really Mr. Scholefield's work. His manuscript as sent in "was several times in excess of the requirements of space allotted to him". Hence they condensed it, with the result that in many cases they used "phraseology which is not his, and in some cases made statements for which he would not care to be responsible". This simply means that historical accuracy in an historical work was forced to give place to commercial interest. This accounts for the absence

**A History of British Columbia*. By E. O. S. Scholefield and R. E. Gosnell. Vancouver: British Columbia Historical Association. 1913.

of all reference to the explorations of Quimper, Elisa, Malaspina, and the other Spaniards, as well as to those of La Pérouse and Marchand. Proper details of the voyages of Kendrick, Gray, Haswell, and Ingraham are lacking; the stories of the *Boston* and the *Tonquin* and of the land traders, including Fraser, Stuart, and Thompson are cut down to mere uninteresting skeletons. And so one could go on. To a certain extent these remarks apply to the second part. To quote again from the publishers' foreword: "It has not been a question of what to include in a volume of this nature, but of what to eliminate". For the purpose of saving space much that was obviously part of the original text has been relegated to small and compact type in the guise of notes; see especially pages 44-48, where the Edgar mission, one of the most important events of the railway negotiations, is ignominiously tucked away in a long footnote. In dealing with the period 1871-1890, especially as regards railway matters, the author does not lay sufficient stress upon the jealousy between island and mainland, which was always present, though not always expressed. The later chapters are filled with generalities, repetitions, and inaccuracies. It is scarcely worth while to point these out, as many of them doubtless arise from the publishers' method of dealing with the author's text. The short sketch of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by Mr. H. J. Cambie is delightfully and accurately written. The "History of Kamloops" by Mr. F. C. Wade, and the "Development of the Okanagan" by Mr. J. A. MacKelvie add the touch of local interest.

Report of the Provincial Archives Department of British Columbia. By E. O. S. Scholefield. Victoria: The King's Printer. 1914. Pp. 135.

The report of the provincial archivist of British Columbia for 1913 is the most ambitious yet issued. When Mr. Scholefield assumed this office in July 1910 he recommended, besides the systematic collection of the diaries, letters, manuscripts and reminiscences of the pioneers, a search for relevant documents in the Admiralty, the Colonial Office, and

the Public Records Office, and in the archives of Spain, of Russia, and of the Hudson's Bay Company. He now gives to the public, as an appendix to his report, copies of more than one hundred documents, which in their wide range afford a key to the value of the historical material thus gathered together. The first series of twenty documents relates to the Nootka Sound difficulty. It contains numerous letters and memoranda from Meares together with various letters from Captain Vancouver, of which by far the most important is his official report of his negotiations with Quadra respecting the cession of territory under the terms of the convention. This series does not add greatly to our knowledge of Vancouver's work; but it does aid in clarifying our opinions of Meares. For instance, in his printed volume (as enclosure number fourteen to his memorial) is an account, dated April 30, 1790, showing the total losses from the Spanish seizures as \$653,433; but included herein is another account, dated September 7, 1790, in which they have grown to £469,865. Doubtless the "two hundred and ten thousand hard dollars in specie" which the commissioners ultimately awarded was very ample compensation. The second series of twenty letters relates to the proposals for the colonization of Vancouver Island. Included therein are a number of letters from James E. Fitzgerald, dated in 1848, offering to undertake that work. The rejection of his proposals and the grant of the island to the Hudson's Bay Company probably account for his bitter attack on the company in the book, published by him the following year, entitled *The Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver Island*. Another series, of thirty nine letters with an addendum of seven more, from James Douglas to Dr. Tolmie, between 1845 and 1857, deals largely with every-day matters of the company and shows its careful and business-like management. Incidentally, glimpses are caught of the company's troubles with the American settlers, of the opening of the coal mines at Nanaimo in 1852, of the birth of Esquimalt as a naval station in 1855, and of the early gold discoveries. Important original material regarding the most energetic and capable,

but, unfortunately, most retiring of western explorers is found in another series of letters from David Thompson. Most surprising is his statement in a letter dated May 9, 1845: "In 1801 the northwest company determined to extend their Fur Trade to the west side of the Rocky Mountains, and if possible to the Pacific Ocean; this expedition was intrusted to me, and I crossed the Mountains to the headwaters of McGillivray's River; but an overwhelming force of the eastern Indians obliged me to retreat a most desperate retreat of six days for they dreaded the western Indians being furnished with Arms and Ammunition". This is a new claim, and worthy of further examination. It may be added that so far as the ordinary secondary sources extend they leave a gap from September 1801 to November 1802. The remainder of the documents include letters from Deputy Governor Colville, Bishop Demers, Archibald McDonald, and Chartres Brew. There is also a fragment of correspondence from James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, the secretary of the company, in which reference is made to the first strike in the coal mines on this coast. Douglas's method of dealing with it is typical: "to treat the mutineers as prisoners at large, and to feed them on bread and water until they returned to duty on the terms of their agreement".

F. W. HOWAY

At the conference of the Association of Canadian Clubs at Vancouver last summer, Mr. F. C. Wade read a paper* upon the treaties which are interwoven with the history of western Canada—the Nootka Sound Convention, the Oregon boundary, the Behring Sea arbitration, and the Alaska boundary. The opening historical sketch of the movements of the early navigators is merely a rough outline, containing nothing new. In discussing the Nootka difficulty neither the conflicting principles represented by the disputants nor the real effects of the settlement have been considered. The principal arguments on each side in the Oregon question

**Treaties affecting the North Pacific Coast.* By F. C. Wade. Vancouver: The Saturday Sunset. 1914. Pp. 19.

are marshalled; the importance of the occupation of the territory by the immigrants from the United States is emphasized; and the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight" is assessed at its real value—"pure Yankee bluster". Mr. Wade is at home in the Bering Sea and Alaska boundary disputes, which he summarizes accurately. In connection with the latter he makes public that valuable and much-talked-of document, the memorandum prepared by Lord Alverstone showing that the four islands, Pearse, Wales, Sitklan, and Kannaghunut belonged to Canada. The statement that it is not clear whether Perez landed at Nootka Sound in 1774 (p. 7) is scarcely in accordance with the facts; the diaries of Crispi and Peña clearly show that Perez was not in Nootka Sound and did not land there or anywhere. These diaries, which were published in 1891, say that after anchoring in a "C"-shaped roadstead the longboat was sent to plant the cross; but a sudden gale sprang up, the *Santiago* dragged her anchor, the cable was hastily cut and the boat, which had returned in obedience to signals, was got on board only after great difficulty. The reference to Duncan McGillivray as the discoverer of the headwaters of the Columbia in 1800 (p. 9) is manifest error. In that year McGillivray explored the North Saskatchewan and accompanied David Thompson to Bow river (Coues, *New Light*, p. 439). The headwaters of the Columbia were discovered by David Thompson, but not until the summer of 1807, at which time Duncan McGillivray had long left *le pays d'en haut*. There are a number of less important errors, some of which are merely typographical.

The handsome volume by Professor F. A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*,* is hardly connected with Canada. Bering, the Dane in the service of Russia, made his last voyage in 1741 for the purpose of discovering whether

**Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850. An account of the earliest and later expeditions made by Russians along the Pacific coast of Asia and North America, including some related expeditions to the Arctic regions.* By F. A. Golder. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1914. Pp. 368.

any intermediate island or continent lay between Siberia and America. The course steered would have brought the ships eventually to North America near the boundary between Canada and the United States, but, satisfied that no land nearer than America lay in that direction, the commanders changed their course to north by east. Bering's ship eventually sighted land in the shape of snow mountains about latitude 58° , probably a portion of the Mount St. Elias range. Chirikoff, the commander of the other vessel, discovered land as far south as latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$, according to his observations. It has been identified as part of Prince of Wales Island. Professor Golder's account is based on original research among Russian state documents, and is a sound piece of work. Unfortunately there is no modern map included in the volume.

The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. By C. F. Newcombe. Victoria: The King's Printer. 1914. Pp. 69.

The object of this paper, as the author states, is to vindicate Vancouver's claim that his ships were the first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island. A brief reference to the apocryphal voyage of Juan de Fuca serves as an introduction to the early speculations regarding inland channels connecting with the North-West Passage. Then come the maritime traders who, seeking sea-otter skins, make their way among the indentations of the coast and, returning, bring the first knowledge of its real geography. We see Lowrie and Guise in 1786, followed a few weeks later by Hanna, rounding Cape Scott and discovering and naming Queen Charlotte Sound, which forms a portion of the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland. Lowrie and Guise simply place on their charts what they saw; Hanna speculates upon the possibility of this sound being connected with some inlet on the north-west coast of Vancouver Island. Barkley discovers the Strait of Fuca; Meares is ready to filch this or any other honour; and Duncan in 1788 sketches the entrance to this strait. In

the following year Gray enters it and sails therein for twenty-five miles; and the Spaniards in the confiscated *North-West America*, now *Gertrudis*, merely ascertain its location and width. From conversations with the natives conjectures are made which gradually ripen into a conviction that the Strait of Fuca is connected with Queen Charlotte Sound. Then appears Meares's mendacious volume, in which a claim is made that the American sloop *Washington* in the fall of 1789 entered Fuca Strait and reached the ocean again near Dixon Entrance, and a map is given showing the course. From a consideration of the movements of the *Washington*; of the many opportunities to publish and claim such a discovery; of the absence of any reference to it in Haswell, Hoskins, or the Spanish records; and of its direct denial by Ingraham as well as by Gallatin and Greenhow (in his memoir), the author reaches the conclusion that Meares's version is untrue. Perhaps the strongest piece of evidence produced is a statement obtained from Meares, dated July 4, 1790, and preserved in the Record Office, London, in which he says that the *Washington* under Kendrick "left Nootka in the latter end of September, that she afterwards went up de Fonti's Strait and passing thro' a Sea came out at the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Kendrick named the Island formed by these Straits, Washington". This is very confused. *Washington* was the name given to the Queen Charlotte Islands by Captain Robert Gray (see Haswell's Log under date May 22, 1789); and, again, this route is the exact reverse of that given in his printed volume. Our author's investigations have unearthed another original document—a supplementary memorial by Meares—which makes the motive of this false story plain; and that motive is mean and sordid, to put money in his purse by supporting his outrageous claims for indirect damages. The argument is complete, the conclusion irresistible: the *Washington* made no such voyage, and Captain Vancouver was, as he claims, the first to circumnavigate the island, which most properly bears his name.

Eight plates, reproductions of very rare maps from 1768 to 1792, have been included. These add greatly to the lucidity of the text and the value of the volume, while the opening "outline of argument" enables the reader to grasp quickly the bearing of the various facts presented. The few errors which have crept into this carefully prepared work are corrected on a slip of errata. The volume is well printed, on good paper, with wide margins, and side notes. An appendix is added containing important proofs and a short list of authorities.

F. W. HOWAY

In the issues of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April, July, and October, 1914, has appeared a portion of a journal* kept by one of the crew of the *Chatham*, the armed tender in command of Lieutenant Broughton, which accompanied Vancouver's vessel, the *Discovery*, during her voyage in 1790-1795. This covers the period from the departure of the ships from the Sandwich Islands in March 1792 to September 15, 1792. The publication will, we understand, be continued in future numbers. While this journal is rough and often fragmentary, it will be welcomed by students of Vancouver's voyage for the light which, here and there, is thrown by it. The meeting with Captain Gray near Cape Flattery and with the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* at Birch Bay, the various exploring expeditions sent out from the *Chatham*, the accidents to the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* in Queen Charlotte Sound, the discussions between Quadra and Vancouver in reference to the cession of Nootka Sound, the visit to Maquinna at Tashees, and other incidents referred to in Vancouver's *Voyage* are noted by the journalist. In many instances, notably the visit to Maquinna, the account exceeds in length and minuteness that of Vancouver himself. An enumeration of the ships in the sound is given, which agrees very closely with those given by Vancouver and in the *Viage*; from these three sources a complete list of the

**A New Vancouver Journal*. Annotated by Edmond S. Meany. (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, pp. 129-137, 215-224, 300-308.)

trading vessels then on the coast can be compiled. Professor Meany, to whose kindness we are indebted for this journal, has appended a few—all too few—notes explanatory of the text. On page 305 the annotator has fallen into a strange error. The writer of the journal states that during the visit to Maquinna a present of a sea otter skin was made to Vancouver, and that, later, another skin was presented. The foot-note suggests that some omission has occurred and that the second skin was presented to Quadra. A glance however at Vancouver's *Voyage* (8vo. edition, 1801, vol. 2, p. 356) shows that Vancouver "was presented with *two* small sea otter skins". The author of the journal is unknown. It may be possible when the publication is completed to make a guess at his identity. The Admiralty were very strict in the enforcement of the prohibition against the keeping of charts, journals, drawings, etc. A few days after the return from Tashees, Vancouver records the public reading of the instructions on this point to the crews of both vessels. How the ears of our journalist must have burned!

Fort Okanogan, the post established by David Stuart in September 1811, was the first constructed and longest lived of the interior forts of the Pacific Fur Company, and its life story the most interesting. For the latter reason the introduction into the history of Fort Okanogan by W. C. Brown* of long extracts from David Thompson's journal of his trip to Astoria in July 1811 is indefensible, and especially so, as Thompson, although he mentions "the high woody mountains of the Oachenawawgan River" appears from his journal to have passed the mouth of the river without seeing it. From the inception of the post to 1816 our author has nothing new; Alexander Ross, Ross Cox, and Franchère, "the synoptic writers of Astoria", are his only authorities. The period, 1816-1850, is dealt with most unsatisfactorily; reference is made to sources of information such as Work's journal and John Tod's diary of Fort Kamloops, and it is suggested

**Old Fort Okanogan and the Okanogan Trail*. By William C. Brown. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xv, p. 1-38).

that with their aid the author could a tale unfold—but he does not. This is the most typical part of its history. Fort Okanogan was then doing its great duty as the key to New Caledonia—the *terminus ad quem* of the batteaux, the *terminus a quo* of the brigade. With the settlement of the Oregon boundary this post lapsed into insignificance; the discovery of gold in the Fraser and the consequent “rush” galvanized it into a temporary importance. Interesting extracts from the reminiscences of the gold-seekers give us glimpses of the dying days of Fort Okanogan. A valuable bibliography is appended. It is pleasing to note that at last the fiction which was originated by Franchère and Irving, that Thompson in his 1810-11 trip was endeavouring to forestall the Astorians, is abandoned (p. 5). His own journal is sufficient confutation. The statement that Astor was seeking “the territorial expansion of the United States” (p. 3) in undertaking the Astorian venture requires a reference to some contemporaneous authority for its support. It is strange that the official American spelling of this name (Okanogan) is not found in the dozens of different forms given in Symons’ report (p. 130) or in the *Handbook of Indians of Canada*.

Judge Ermatinger’s paper on the Hudson’s Bay Company’s rule on the Columbia* contains nothing new. The author does not profess to give a connected narrative, but merely a series of views of the fur-traders and of fur-trading days, taken largely from the papers left by his father, Edward Ermatinger. Dr. John McLoughlin, the grand old man of Oregon, is sketched for us from life. There is an unanimity truly remarkable regarding this man’s abilities. The ruthless punishment of the Clallams by a party under Chief Trader McLeod for the murder in 1828 of Alexander McKenzie and four men bound to Fort Langley; the difficulties between Dr. McLoughlin and Governor Simpson arising out of the murder of John McLoughlin the younger at Fort Stickeen;

**The Columbia River under Hudson’s Bay Company Rule*. By C. O. Ermatinger. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. v, pp. 192-206.)

and some incidents in the life of Paul Kane, occupy the remainder of the paper. It is scarcely correct to say that there was "a series of ten-year treaties" in relation to the occupation of Oregon; the treaty of 1818 contained a ten-year limitation, but when this was renewed by the treaty of 1827 it was for an indefinite period, determinable on twelve months' notice.

The Journal of John Work, from June 21, 1825, to June 12, 1826. With introduction and annotations by T. C. Elliott. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. v, pp. 83-115, 163-191, 258-287.)

The Journal of David Thompson, from July 3 to August 13, 1811. Editorial introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xv, pp. 39-63, 104-125.)

In Work's *Journal*, which covers almost a year, we have a wonderfully complete view of the daily life of a fur-trader in old Oregon Territory. Instead of being, as some have imagined, a sort of lotus-eating existence, it was one in which each day brought its share of toil to be performed. But the journal would be a closed book—for the reader would soon become hopelessly lost among the strange names and the familiar names in strange forms—were it not for the illuminating notes that Mr. Elliott has added with painstaking accuracy. Not a person, place, or custom is mentioned but there is at hand the guiding figure to make the reference plain. The journal opens with the departure of the interior brigade from the newly established Fort Vancouver. Work accompanies it as far as Fort Walla Walla (Nez Percés). His destination is Spokane House. There he receives a letter from Sir George Simpson (who has just made his first voyage to the Pacific) detailing the arrangements for the removal of Spokane House to the new site at Kettle Falls and for the establishment of the fur brigade, which is thereafter to convey overland the goods and furs between Fort Okanogan and New Caledonia. Having purchased the necessary horses Work sets out for Fort Okanogan where he

remains five days before returning to Spokane. After three days there he is off to trade with the Nez Percés and Flatheads. Returning after an absence of seventeen days he spends some five days putting in order the affairs at Spokane and then he goes to Kettle Falls to oversee the work there. This occupies two days, after which he returns to Spokane. Then follows about a fortnight of quiet fort life; the entries show that every one is busy, cleaning out the store house, taking inventories, trading occasionally, and "airing and beating the beaver". After another flying visit to Kettle Falls—occupying four days—in which he finds fault with the progress of the work, he returns to Spokane, whence he sets out on November 14 for Flathead House to spend the winter in trading with the Indians. The journey by land and water occupies ten days in sleet and snow and rain; when the fort is reached it is found without floors, or doors, or windows. This portion of the journal is filled with records of the daily business, but the entry of January 1, 1826, is worthy of transcription:

"This being the first day of the new year, according to custom, each of the men got an extra ration of 6 lb. fresh venison, 2 lbs. back fat, 1 Buffalo tongue, 1 pint of Flour, and 1 pint of Rum.—At daylight they ushered in the new year with a volley of musketry, when they were treated with 4 glasses each of Rum, cakes, & a pipe of Tobacco. With this and the pint given to each of them, they soon contrived to get nearly all pretty drunk".

Leaving Flathead House on February 20, although the ice has not yet disappeared, he returns to Spokane with the results of his winter's trading: beaver, otter, mink, marten, fisher, muskrat, elk, and deer skins, castorum, buffalo saddles and salt tongues, and appichimans (saddle blankets made of skins). With J. W. Dease he superintends the dismantling of Spokane House and the removal to Fort Colville, as the new trading post at Kettle Falls is called. After some six weeks spent in charge of Fort Okanogan, Work sets out for Fort Vancouver, and the journal ends abruptly almost in sight of that important establishment.

All readers of Franchère and Washington Irving have pictured to themselves that bright July day in 1811 when David Thompson's canoe, *portant pavilion*, rounded

Tongue Point and swept proudly into the little cove at Astoria, and they have pictured also the proud Nor'wester concealing his bitter disappointment at his failure to forestall the Astorians. How long he had been travelling, by what route he had come, they knew not; but of his object they had no doubt. Even as late as 1902, Captain Chittenden in his *History of the American Fur Trade* stated that Thompson had been dispatched "to anticipate Astor on the Columbia". This belief must now take its place in the limbo of myths. After Mr. Tyrrell's paper on David Thompson appeared in 1888 careful students ceased to accept Franchère's opinion. Mr. Tyrrell showed that, having wintered at the Boat Encampment, Thompson, in the spring of 1811, *ascended* the Columbia to its source, crossed over to the Kootenay river, and thence to Clark's Fork, and on to the Spokane river, arriving at Spokane House on June 15. He descended the Spokane river to the Columbia, which he then *ascended* to Kettle Falls. Mr. Elliott now gives us *verbatim et literatim* Thompson's journal from these falls, which he calls Ilthkoyape, to Astoria and thence on the return journey as far as Spokane House. Leaving Kettle Falls on July 3, thirteen days are occupied in a leisurely descent to Astoria. The journal shows Thompson ready, as always, to stop and smoke with the Indians, to be honoured with a dance and to return the compliment by presents to the chiefs and principal men. He stays about a week at Astoria, visits the one-eyed potentate, old Comcomly, spends some time in fixing the relative positions of the principal points in the vicinity of the house, and departs on his journey to Spokane.

Something of the quality of this wonderful man appears in the journal. There is a reliance on the Deity which is grandly simple: "By the grace of God", "Please Heaven", "Thank God", flow freely from his pen—the outpourings of a deeply religious spirit. Before he reaches Astoria, he tells us, he stops to shave and arrange himself. Near Garrison Rapids he mentions casually that the Indians are menacing his party with "2 pointed Dags". His exactness is so habitual

that even the "good fleshy chevreuil" killed by Michel on July 26 is carefully described, its various dimensions, colour, and peculiarities being noted. The course and distance, latitude and longitude are given on every occasion, as though he had already in mind the famous map which he prepared in later years; some of the pages with their figures, signs, and contractions look like distorted algebraic formulae.

The work of annotating this journal has clearly been a labour of love to Mr. Elliott. It has been done with an accuracy and zeal beyond all praise. The cross references to Ross, Franchère, and Ross Cox will be found of much value. Mr. Elliott puts on record his opinion that "this journal disproves entirely any previous conclusions that David Thompson was instructed to anticipate the arrival of the Astor or Pacific Fur Company at the mouth of the Columbia and establish a trading post there. He carried no goods for that purpose and was not planning to meet any vessel there with goods, and during the spring of 1811 he did not 'hurry'".

F. W. HOWAY

The material is gradually being accumulated for the complete story of the differences which led to the retirement of Dr. John McLoughlin from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. It has long been thought that his relations with Governor Simpson were embittered by the latter's conduct in connection with the murder of young John McLoughlin. Judge Ermatinger contributes a lengthy letter* from Dr. McLoughlin to his father, the late Edward Ermatinger, in which he complains bitterly and finds fault with every act of the governor in this sad affair. Yet, as Sir George has said in his *Overland Journey* (vol. 2, p. 182), what more could he have done? The murder having occurred within the territory leased from Russia was not triable in Upper Canada; he therefore took the murderer to Sitka. But as Russia had no court of criminal jurisdiction in America

**A Tragedy on the Stickeen in '42*. By C. O. Ermatinger. (Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, vol. xv, pp. 126-132.)

he doubted whether anything effectual could be done. The doctor's complaint is that the governor concluded that his son had by his unfeeling and brutal conduct brought about a mutiny which had endangered the safety of the fort; and that this result had been reached after the examination of but six persons out of the twenty two. It must however be remembered that the governor had been at Fort Stikine only six months previously and had doubtless formed his opinion of young McLoughlin and his conduct. The extracts from the letters of John Tod and Archibald McDonald which Judge Ermatinger has appended support the governor's conclusions.

The Winning of the Far West. By Robert McNutt McElroy. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914. Pp. x, 384.

The fourth chapter of R. M. McElroy's *Winning of the Far West* is headed "The Oregon Question", and its forty-three pages purport to be a consideration of that much discussed subject. As an historical contribution the chapter is utterly worthless, for the author relies entirely on Greenhow and seems to be unaware of the vast amount of new material which recent investigation has disclosed. The diaries of Crispi and Peña which are original sources for Perez' voyage in 1774, Mrs. Barkley's *Reminiscences*, 1786-7, Coues' *New Light* (Henry-Thompson Journals), Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, and the reports and journals published by western historical societies have plainly never been consulted.

The American claims to the territory between 42° and 54° 40' are, quite properly, based upon the Spanish discoveries, the purchase of Louisiana, and the discovery and exploration of the Columbia river. But when Professor McElroy gravely puts forward Fuca and Fonte as having really made their alleged voyages, he takes a position long since abandoned by serious students of Pacific coast history, and never claimed by Spain. The same remark applies to Cabrillo, who, it is now agreed, never saw land

beyond 40° N. Lat. The "innumerable later voyages" which strengthen Fuca, Fonte, and Cabrillo (p. 88) dwindle to one—that of Juan Perez, and he never landed within the disputed territory. The purchase of Louisiana did not carry American ownership to the Pacific; its only bearing on the question was by reason of the doctrine of contiguity. In dealing with the discovery and settlement of the Columbia region the author perpetuates many of the old and exploded ideas: he thinks Thompson's voyage of 1810-11 was to forestall Astor (p. 100); that the Missouri Fur Company's post, Fort Henry, on Lewis or Snake river, was built in 1808 and was the first establishment by any nation in the Columbia region. The fact, now well known, is that that fort was built in 1810, and that long prior thereto—in July 1807—David Thompson had built Fort Kootenae at the headwaters of the Columbia. Thompson's Kullyspell House on Pend d'Oreille Lake and Saleesh House on Clark's Fork were built in September and November 1809 (Coues, *New Light*, p. 672). Mr. McElroy's statements that Captain Gray met Vancouver as he passed out to sea after discovering the Columbia (p. 94); that Laroque (presumably Joseph, though he does not give his Christian name) was sent in 1805 to establish forts on the Columbia (p. 97); that the Columbia river region was unoccupied until the establishment of Astoria (p. 97); that the *Raccoon* arrived during the negotiations for the purchase of Astoria (p. 101); that the Columbia region was governed by British laws (p. 103) are merely taken as samples from the mass of errors that the chapter contains. The heated days of "fifty-four forty or fight" are now so far distant that in attempting to state the issues involved the British contention as set out in Twiss or Falconer, or even as summarized by Rush, might have been given, if for no other purpose than to show, as every candid student admits, that there was another side to the question. Throughout the whole chapter the author fails to understand that Greenhow's work, though called a history, is in reality a brief on behalf of the American contention; due allowance is always made for this bias by students. The

chapter devoted to the purchase of Alaska contains not the least reference to the Alaska boundary question. The spelling "oukaz" for "ukase" is unusual, to say the least.

F. W. HOWAY

Professor Meany's address* at the opening of the special meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association purports to deal with the lives of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. But it soon passes out of the biographical into the historical, and becomes a discussion of the Oregon Question, covering however only old and well known ground. A novel claim is made as to the meaning of the words, "All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war". These words of the first section of the Treaty of Ghent were ultimately agreed to be wide enough to include Astoria, but it is extending them unduly to claim, as is here done, that Oregon was included. If it were, it is difficult to find a *raison d'être* for the treaties of joint policy, 1818 and 1826. Although the point is not brought prominently forward it seems that the object of the American diplomats in the Oregon dispute was to obtain a good harbour on the Pacific. At one time the suggestion was made that the United States should extend from the Columbia southward to San Francisco, leaving to the British all territory north of that river.

Those who wish to realize the intense and unreasoning animosity of the American settlers in Oregon Territory toward the Hudson's Bay Company should read the Lownsdale letter† to S. R. Thurston, Oregon's first delegate to Congress. Although it is dated August 10, 1849, it relates to the occurrences of the preceding forty years. For jesuitical

**Three Diplomats prominent in the Oregon Question.* By Edmond S. Meany. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, pp. 207-214.)

†*Letter by Daniel H. Lownsdale to Samuel R. Thurston, First Territorial Delegate from Oregon to Congress.* Introduction by Clarence B. Bagley. (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xiv, pp. 213-249.)

argument, for distortion of fact, for virulence of attack, for abuse and scurrility, it stands without a peer in the historical material of the west. The Hudson's Bay Company is depicted as a great monster, which corrupts Lieutenant Wilkes, incites the Whitman massacre, arms the Cayuse Indians against the settlers, and has as its constant thought plans to injure the Americans. Even its kindly acts are distorted to its discredit. Amongst those who were most active in spreading such wilful perversions were many persons who owed the lives of themselves and their families to the kindness of the company. While admitting the inaccuracy of the letter in all matters of fact, the editor, quite rightly, calls attention to its value for those who wish to catch the "atmosphere" of the time.

From 1851 until 1859, when the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to the soil of Vancouver Island really ceased (though the actual re-transfer was not executed until April 3, 1867), that company followed a consistent policy of extinguishing by purchase the Indian title. In that time about fourteen purchases were effected, covering the south-eastern portion of the Island, for Governor Douglas would not allow settlement to be begun in any district until the claims of the natives had been satisfied. The discontinuance of this policy was due solely to want of funds. The legislature of the Island, in 1861, applied unsuccessfully to the Home Government for an advance of about £3,000 to purchase the Indian title to the remainder of the Island. But that policy was not introduced on the mainland, then the separate colony of British Columbia. As Mr. Joseph W. Trutch wrote in 1870:

"The title of the Indians in the fee of the public lands, or of any portion thereof, has never been acknowledged by Government, but, on the contrary, is distinctly denied. In no case has any special agreement been made with any of the tribes of the mainland for the extinction of these claims of possession; but these claims have been held to have been fully satisfied by securing to each tribe, as the progress of the settlement of the country seemed to require, the use of sufficient tracts of land for their wants for agricultural and pastoral purposes."

To this position the local government has constantly adhered. The aim of the pamphlet on *The British Columbia Indian Land Question** is to emphasize the conflicting views: that of the Canadian Government that the Indians have rights in the lands of the province which should be determined by judicial investigation; that of the Provincial Government, that the Indians have no such rights, and that no judicial investigation will be permitted.

The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire. By William J. Trimble. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 638.) 1914. Pp. 254.

This monograph, submitted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Wisconsin, is the result of four years' study. It is a most scholarly treatment of a great epoch-making movement and of its results. It combines the highest accuracy with an appreciative breadth of vision. California was the training school of the miners of western America. She was also the prolific mother of the northern mining movements, which furnished the early population of British Columbia, eastern Oregon, Washington, western Montana, and Idaho. These regions were homogeneous, geographically united, but politically separated. Yet society north of the 49th parallel differed greatly from that south of the line. The object of this study is, under these circumstances, to account for that fact.

The author presents the subject in three parts: (1) a survey of the history of the mining advance; (2) special treatment of its economic and social aspects; (3) a consideration of the problems of government.

In 1855 the discovery of gold near Fort Colville in Washington brought the first gold-seekers. Many were their difficulties—scarcity of provisions; absence of any semblance of transportation facilities; but above all, misunderstandings with the Indians, culminating in the war of

**The British Columbia Indian Land Question from a Canadian point of view.* An appeal to the people of Canada, recommended by the Indian Affairs Committee of the Social Service Council of Canada. n.p. Pp. 16.

1855-6. Angus MacDonald, the chief clerk at Colville, suggested a search up the Columbia. This was the genesis of the Fraser river "rush" in 1858. The first news of gold in the northern land reached California at the psychological moment; surface placer mining had given place to deep diggings, and there was no room in the social economy for the individual miner whose only capital was his pick and shovel, his stout heart, and brawny arm. To him this news came as the news of a new Goshen. At once a vast inrush was made into a region even more wild than the Colville. This forbidding country, the overflowed bars, and the hampering restrictions on trade dampened their ardor; the great majority returned to California, decrying the country as a humbug. But out of this flash in the pan came the end of the Hudson's Bay Company's domination and the formation of the colony of British Columbia. The uncertain conditions in Washington, owing to the Indian unrest, left British Columbia during 1859 and 1860 the centre of a quiet, but steadily increasing mining activity. A year later came the discoveries of Keithley and Antler creeks, which however, gave no hint of the wondrous riches of Williams creek. Mr. Trimble then sketches very clearly the expansion of mining in Cariboo, basing his opinions upon the reports and returns of the gold commissioners. It soon appeared that Cariboo was not a poor man's diggings. This gave stimulus to the Wild Horse and Big Bend excitements in British Columbia as well as to those of Idaho, eastern Oregon, and Montana.

Under the second heading the normal methods of prospecting and mining over the whole region are exhaustively examined. As was to be expected, these were identical, except that in British Columbia the Government took the initiative in some things, as, for instance, stimulation of search and formation of mining regulations, which south of the line were left to the miners themselves. The greater fertility of the soil enabled home construction to keep closer company with the mining advance on the American than on the British side of the line. In the end ephemeral placer mining gave way to capitalistic effort in deep diggings or in quartz. Atten-

tion is directed to the myth of the "lone prospector" and to the energetic concerted actions of the gold-seekers; they knew what they wanted, and even the fiat of Governor Douglas was boldly evaded, if possible, when opposed thereto. In them was the germ of throbbing independent life which was to people the whole western slope. The two most important problems to be faced were transportation and mail and express arrangements; in the former the colony took the lead, in the latter, the Americans. When dealing with the social conditions stress is laid upon the presence of respectable women in the mining camps, and reference is made to the importation into British Columbia of "a cargo or two" of marriageable young women. The presence of negroes in the colony is also noted, though they did not enter the mines. The patient, painstaking, plodding Chinese are in every camp, content to glean the fields abandoned by the whites, yet subjected everywhere, except in British Columbia, to unfair and inequitable taxation. The cabins, the food, the amusements, the life of the miners in town and camp are all described and discussed intelligently. Our author is thoroughly in sympathy with the men themselves; "It took", he says, "a *man* to face the long journey to the mines and the vicissitudes of life there". In his analysis he finds the miners as a class to have been law-abiding and orderly, intelligent, enterprising, humorous, habitually (but not wickedly) profane, chivalrous, and warm-hearted; yet after all what is this but saying that they were rough, virile men? A lengthy chapter is devoted to the work of the Churches over the area in question.

In discussing the establishment of government in British Columbia thirty pages are given to a consideration of Sir James Douglas, who "stands out as the most significant figure in the history of the mining advance". He is well described as "a man who knew thoroughly the country, who was intimately acquainted with the Indians and with Indian habits, and who was trained in a great administrative system—a man, masterful and firm (if, at times, perhaps, mistakenly so) and, at any rate, a man who applied

himself with diligence and devotion and thoughtfulness to a great work". Side by side with Governor Douglas stands Chief Justice Begbie, the most potent force making for law and order. To him is due this meed of praise: "In British Columbia crime was promptly and justly dealt with, and there never was a lynching or a vigilante committee, nor occasion for either; while in the American Territories there was scarcely one important camp which did not have some 'statistics of blood' and where there was not some sort of lynching or some sort of a vigilante committee" (p. 197). This was true even in Wild Horse and Big Bend, which adjoined the American frontier and if in the United States would have made ideal fields for the operations of road agents and, consequently, of vigilante committees.

The last eight pages contain "a selected bibliography" indicating the sources which have been drawn upon for this attractive study.

F. W. HOWAY

*Stories of Early British Columbia** is an excellent little book of its kind. It only purports to be the stories of the pioneers as told by themselves. The style is suitable to the subject—familiar and chatty. The object of the author has been to give to his readers the atmosphere of "the days of old, the days of gold", rather than to write with the scrupulous exactness of an historian. During his forty years' residence in the province he has interviewed the old servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and the early gold-seekers; and in this volume has given us their reminiscences. No effort has been made to check their slippery memories from the printed records. Within these limitations the book will be found not only interesting but true to that most difficult thing to catch—the real life and spirit of the time. It is quite impossible within the limits of a review to point out the historical inaccuracies; the book is not a history and must not be used as one. In the chapter upon Sir Matthew

**Stories of Early British Columbia*. By W. Wymond Walkem, Vancouver: The News-Advertiser. 1914. Pp. 287.

Baillie Begbie are related many of the stories told of, and by, him. Some of them are apocryphal; it is customary in British Columbia to credit a good story to Judge Begbie. A good view of the real life in the mining camps can be obtained from the chapters upon "A Pioneer of '58" and "A Pioneer of '59". The latter, which contains some of the recollections of Robert Stevenson, gives a long account of the early days on Williams creek and of the phenomenal rise of his friend John A. Cameron, commonly called "Cariboo Cameron". The chapter entitled "A Sturdy Prospector" is the life story of J. C. Bryant, a man who took part in almost every mining excitement in British Columbia from 1858 to 1878. Having made good use of his eyes and having also a good memory he has given us, through Dr. Walkem, a most readable story. Incidentally, it shows the strange hold which mining, especially placer mining, obtains upon a man. The volume is attractively illustrated.

The pageant in Vancouver in 1914 aroused interest in pioneer days and afforded an opportunity for a pamphlet* upon the work of the explorers during colonial times. In that roll Walter Moberly's name will always hold a high place. As one of the pioneers of the Fraser river "rush" of 1858, as a contractor for a large section of the Cariboo road, as assistant surveyor-general of British Columbia, 1864-1866, as district engineer on the surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1871-1873, he has left his mark indelibly upon the history of British Columbia. Perhaps his greatest work was his explorations in Kootenay, culminating in the discovery of Eagle Pass. This pamphlet well illustrates the difficulty of sketching in proper perspective, without contemporaneous documents, fifty years of energetic frontier life. Written in breezy newspaper style, it tends to exaggeration, as for instance when Mr. Moberly is set on the same plane as Warren Hastings. It contains very little new matter, the greater part of the material

**Blazing the Trail through the Rockies*. By Noel Robinson. Vancouver: The News-Advertiser. 1914. Pp. 117.

having been published in two lectures delivered before the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association of Vancouver about five years ago. As an appendix is given a concise and correct account of the explorations of Henry J. Cambie and of his part in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the canyons of the Fraser. A number of errors may be noted. Mr. Moberly expresses surprise at finding rhododendrons near Hope (p. 30); this plant grows wild in great profusion on the islands of the Haro Archipelago, and is the state flower of Washington. The trans-shipment of horses from the Boat Encampment to Fort Colville (p. 31) is purely imaginary. Errors in spelling are frequent: chapparele (p. 32) for chaparral; Nuette (p. 82) for Miette; Crighillachie (p. 107) for Craigellachie; Savanah (p. 108) for Savona. About forty-three illustrations, more or less pertinent to the text, have been inserted.

An article on *The New City of Prince Rupert** contains food for thought. The author does full justice to the site of Prince Rupert from its picturesque side and as affording unequalled facilities for ocean trade. But he criticizes the town-planning and the lavish expenditure that this has involved.

"It appears to me, when the irregularity of the ground is taken into consideration, to adhere rather too slavishly to the unimaginative rectangular pattern . . . Deep rock cuttings and high embankments are everywhere in evidence, and the initial outlay on these has involved huge capital expenditure."

Another objection he raises against both the site and the plan. The limited area and the rectangular blocks make for congestion of population in lofty buildings, and thus one of the lessons of municipal development is neglected.

"It would be a public calamity if Prince Rupert were ever to grow into a dense seething mass of humanity, packed together like herrings in a barrel, after the pattern of New York or Chicago. But this apparently is what will take place before long."

In the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society Mr. Vreeland gives a brief account of a scientific exploration

**The New City of Prince Rupert*. By H. M. Cadell. (Scottish Geographical Magazine, May, 1914, pp. 237-250.)

among the upper waters of the Peace river.* The party reached the source of the Parsnip or southern branch of the Peace river by way of the Grand Trunk Pacific through Yellowhead Pass and the Fraser river as far as Giscome portage, a little above Fort George. They descended the Parsnip and Peace rivers through the mountains, and made a subsidiary exploration to the north among the mountains where the Halfway river and its affluents take their rise. The map which accompanies the paper forms an interesting and valuable addition to our knowledge of the region in question. Several new peaks are named and described. The author notes with indignation the wanton destruction of timber in the valley of the Fraser river by railway construction crews, "who start fires to clear the right-of-way and allow them to spread over the whole mountain side". It is indeed a disgrace to Canada that such proceedings are still possible. Mr. Vreeland says that the river bed of the Parsnip has changed so much since Dr. George Dawson made his exploration in 1879 that the latter's map is hardly serviceable now. An article by Mr. Pliny E. Goddard in the *American Museum Journal*† also describes a journey on the Peace river, but in its lower waters. It contains nothing worth remark.

Some numbers of the 1911 edition of the *Year Book of British Columbia* remaining on hand unbound, the Government resolved to bring the volume up to date‡ by the addition of a section containing the statistics for the years 1911, 1912, and 1913. The new matter covers forty-seven pages. It includes the members of the present Legislative Assembly and of the Executive; the results of the most recent Dominion and provincial elections; the production of the fisheries, of

**Notes on the sources of the Peace river, British Columbia.* By Frederick K. Vreeland. (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, vol. 46, pp. 3-24.)

†*Along Peace river.* By Pliny E. Goddard. (American Museum Journal, vol. 14, pp. 253-260.)

‡*The Year Book of British Columbia, 1911-1914.* By R. E. Gosnell. Victoria: Published by authority of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 1911-1914. Pp. 358, 47.

the farm, of the forest; the revenue and expenditure, the manufactures, and the imports and exports during those years. The work has been done with Mr. Gosnell's usual thoroughness.

The usual article on the Klondike goldfields appears this year in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. The author, Mr. H. M. Cadell,* is an engineer and a thoroughly competent observer as his paper shows. The gradual change in mining processes revealed from year to year is very interesting. At present dredging, for the bottom creek gravels, and hydraulic sluicing, for the bench gravels, are the methods mainly employed. The former especially seems to have attained complete efficiency. The difficulty of uncovering the naked rock in which quartz reefs containing gold may be found has hitherto interfered with ore mining, but doubtless its day will come. The gravels will soon be exhausted. About five years is estimated as the limit to profitable dredging and sluicing. Such calculations, however, are usually in error, and the duration may be under-estimated. New gravels may be found, rich enough to be worked by the new methods. The statistics of gold production in the district show that while the totals steadily and rapidly declined from 1900 to 1908, the movement since 1908 has been almost as steadily though not so rapidly upward.

**The Klondike and Yukon goldfield in 1913.* By H. M. Cadell. (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, July 1914, pp. 337-356.)

VI. GEOGRAPHY ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

America: including Canada, Newfoundland, the British West Indies, and the Falkland Islands and Dependencies. Edited by A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth. (*Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, Vol. 4.) Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1914. Pp. x, 512.

The *Oxford Survey of the British Empire* is a study in six volumes of the geographical, economic, administrative, and social conditions of the constituent parts of the Empire. The fourth volume deals with Canada and other members of the Empire in the new world. There is very little historical material in the volume, merely enough to explain existing conditions. The Dominion of Canada properly receives chief attention, 260 out of 450 pages of text being devoted to Britain's largest colony.

Professor A. P. Coleman, who treats of Canada's physical geography and geology, shows how the geological and geographical conditions of one region, the St. Lawrence valley, have made it the most thickly settled region of Canada, but his treatment of other geological sections keeps strictly to geological and geographical matters. A paper on "The Climate of Canada", by Mr. R. F. Stupart, is followed by a number of climatic tables. Professor R. H. Yapp properly relates "Vegetation" to the climate of Canada. Mr. G. W. Smith, writing on "Fauna", barely mentions the influence of climate.

Professor James Mavor devotes three chapters to the "Economic Survey" of Canada. Exception may be taken to a few statements. While rural families may swell the urban population of western Canada in winter (p. 153), the number does not warrant comment; and the existence of a small mining population in northern Ontario is scarcely worth mentioning as a cause of the high cost of living (p. 113). Professor Mavor does not believe that "single tax" in western Canada has forced real estate owners to improve

their properties, yet he believes that it has caused concentration in large central office buildings (p. 154); there is an obvious contradiction here. It is the Dominion Coal Company, not the Dominion Iron and Steel Company, that mines the coal of the Sydney mines (pp. 110-111). Two chapters on "Population and Culture" and "Government and Administration", by Mr. W. L. Griffith, are brief and sympathetic statements.

The survey of Canada is followed by a survey of the geography, geology, climate, vegetation, fauna, population, government, and economic life of Newfoundland (including Labrador), of the British West Indies, the Falkland Islands and their dependencies. Some attention is directed to a consideration of the relation of these colonies, especially the West Indies, to the Dominion of Canada.

A final chapter which deals with "Defence of American Territories", by an unnamed writer, reviews briefly the strategic features in the defence of Canada and the West Indies. The author makes it clear that Canada could not herself take the offensive and that the problem is altogether one of defence. He shows an obvious sympathy with those who favour the contribution of ships for imperial defence, when he says that "Mr. Borden's naval policy shows the extent to which a large section of his countrymen appreciate the needs of Imperial Defence, and understand the principles on which it is based, and also the sacrifices they are prepared to make in the interests of the Empire" (p. 459).

W. J. A. DONALD

The Thirteenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada* contains as an Appendix an outline of the physical geography of Canada by Mr. D. B. Dowling. It is accompanied by a map of the physiographic divisions and also by a relief map, which however is on too small a scale to do much more than show the parallel ranges of the Rocky Mountains.

**Thirteenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, containing all decisions to March 31, 1914. Ottawa. 1914. Pp. 254, 17.*

Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Commission of Conservation. Toronto. 1913. Pp. viii, 238.

Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Commission of Conservation. Toronto. 1914. Pp. x, 266.

Reports of the Commission of Conservation have been the object of considerable interest in Canada in recent years. Some of them, being highly technical, are of course of interest to only a limited number of persons, but the proceedings of the annual meetings, at which the reports of the chairmen of the various committees, as well as other papers, are given, might well be, and ought to be, of interest to many people in Canada.

The annual reports are of interest, because they are published in a brief, convenient and interesting form. Behind each report is the personality of a leader in some branch of public service in Canada, and few of the reports fail to leave the impression that a great work is being done and that much is yet to be accomplished. They have therefore a charm and an interest seldom found in public documents, and any one should find pleasure in reading them. These reports ought to be read for the information they contain concerning problems of provincial, national, and international importance.

Here the fact may fitly be mentioned that the report of 1914 contains evidence of much progress in the year, not merely in the amount of work done, but especially in the definiteness of the plans of the Commission. One gains the impression that the different members of the Commission and its officers have found their place in the general plan of work. Moreover, the Commission, which first placed emphasis on conservation of timber, has now fully recognized that housing, sanitation, city planning, and even technical education should come under the term "conservation". In 1913 the chairman of the Committee on Public Health made only brief mention of housing and city planning, but discussion centred chiefly on that phase of his report. In 1914 a Committee on City Planning was organized but it was not able to make a complete report. Papers were read by Mr. G.

Frank Beer on "A Plea for City Planning Organization" and the "Work of the Toronto Housing Company". Attention was also given to the "Necessity for Uniform Laws for Sanitary Plumbing".

Besides the annual reports of the various committees on lands, public health, minerals, forests, waters and water-powers, fisheries, game and fur-bearing animals, and press and co-operating organizations, the annual reports contain papers on particular subjects. In 1913, "The Work of the Dominion Forestry Branch"; "Salmon Fisheries of British Columbia"; "Oyster Farming in P.E.I."; "Insect Food of Fresh Water Fishes"; "Conditions in the Clay Belt of New Ontario", and "Smoke Prevention" were discussed. In 1914, papers on "The National Council of Women and Conservation"; "Importance of Bore-hole Records and Capping of Gas-wells"; "Protection of Migratory Birds"; "Prospects of the Karakul Sheep Industry"; "British Columbia Water Power Investigation"; "English Speaking Conference on Infant Mortality"; "First Aid to the Injured"; and "Wheat Shipments from Pacific Ports of the Northwestern United States" received particular attention.

W. J. A. DONALD

In 1911 Colonel William Wood made an eloquent and moving appeal to the Commission of Conservation for the establishment of animal sanctuaries in Labrador*. The thoughtlessness, recklessness and rapacity of hunters have made such inroads upon the wild life of that great region that some species are on the verge of extinction, if not already gone beyond recovery, and all the varieties of animals and birds important to man for food or clothing are reduced in numbers to an alarming extent. Colonel Wood printed his address and distributed it far and wide with a request for comment and practical suggestions. A selection from the replies received was printed by him in the following year as

**Animal Sanctuaries in Labrador*. An Address presented by Lieut.-Colonel William Wood, before the Second Annual Meeting of the Commission of Conservation at Quebec, January 1911. Pp. 38.

a Supplement to his address*. One of the most incisive was made by the veteran naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, whose death has since occurred. In commenting on the vast destruction among birds which is due to the fashion of feathers in women's hats, he says that legislative penalties on the collectors or importers of plumes are wrong and ineffective. These persons "are really the least guilty and the most difficult to get at. It is the actual *wearers* of such ornaments who should be subject to fines or even imprisonment, because without the *demand* they make there would be no supply". There is another reason for visiting the wearers with punishment, and that is because suasion, which has been relied upon to operate a change of heart, produces little effect. No one who has tried to explain to the ordinary wearer the cruelty involved in the fashion of displaying the so-called egret or osprey feathers will have any hope that the trade in them will be affected to an appreciable extent by argument alone. In 1913 Colonel Wood followed up his address by submitting to the Commission a definite plan for conservation†, but no action appears to have been taken by the Commission beyond publishing his original pamphlet. The matter is too important to be allowed to drop, and fresh efforts will no doubt be made to arouse interest.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section V (volumes ix and x): *Industrial Expansion.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. ix, 660.

The introduction to this section of the monumental work *Canada and its Provinces* is contributed by Mr. James Bonar, and is written with the breadth of view and of sympathy

**Animal Sanctuaries in Labrador.* Supplement to an Address by Lieut.-Colonel William Wood. Ottawa. 1912. Pp. 38.

†*Draft of a Plan for beginning Animal Sanctuaries in Labrador.* By Lieut.-Colonel William Wood. P.P. Pp. 24.

which characterize this veteran economist. The first division dealing with "The Physical Basis of Canada" is contributed by Mr. R. W. Brock, who treats in a lucid and interesting way of the physiography, geology, flora and fauna of the Dominion. Accompanying the letterpress are maps showing the orographical features, the geological structure, the climate, the forests and vegetation, and the location of the economic minerals of Canada. From the point of view of the economic historian, however, one cannot but feel that Chapters viii and ix, on "Geological Conditions and Settlement" and "Geological Conditions and Industries" respectively, are too summary and inadequate. Together they occupy rather less than five pages. Thus the connecting link between the account of the geology of the country and its economic history is exceedingly fragile.

Readers of the earlier volumes will remember that the economic history of the French régime and of the pre-Confederation British Canada are dealt with in Volumes ii and iv respectively. Here, then, there remains for treatment only post-Confederation Canada—a subject which is treated by Professor O. D. Skelton with marked ability, and is illustrated by excellent charts, showing the general economic features, the foreign trade and the prosperity of the country. The first two chapters, on "The Economic Outlook for the New Dominion" and "Taking Stock at Confederation", are remarkably brief, clear, and concise. The other three chapters, while undoubtedly the best existing treatment of the economic history of Canada since Confederation, are somewhat overloaded with facts of varying importance, and are overmuch concerned with tariffs. Indeed, it may be considered very questionable whether Mr. Skelton's division of the economic history into periods roughly corresponding to Liberal and Conservative régimes is the best. Have not the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which made Canada a transcontinental power in very fact, and the completion of the new railroads, wiping out the old reproach that Canada was length without breadth, had more basic and fundamental consequences for

Canadian economic history than the changes of government which took place in 1878 and 1896?

Undoubtedly the best sketch of the Canadian labour movement which has yet appeared in print is Mr. R. H. Coats's "The Labour Movement in Canada", occupying the last eighty pages of Volume ix. The logical arrangement, the clarity of treatment, the simplicity and avoidance of undue detail, show the hand of the expert. The influence of the British and American labour movements upon the Canadian is adequately recognized; the discussion of "internationalism" as opposed to "nationalism" is especially sound and fair to all concerned. In his chapter on "Labour Legislation" Mr. Coats bears witness to the remarkable way in which Canadian as well as American labour legislation has in the main followed in the wake of the British. Where this is not the case, and the Canadian Department of Labour may claim originality, as in the case of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, Mr. Coats is commendably modest about these successes of his Department.

"National Highways Overland", by Mr. S. J. McLean of the Canadian Railway Commission, is the opening subject of Volume x, and is illustrated by a fine map, in three sections, of the railways of Canada. The first chapter, dealing with the roads of pre-railroad days, is the least satisfactory, as it scarcely touches on the influence of such early roads as Yonge Street, Dundas Street, and the Kingston road, in opening up the country for settlement. On the other hand, in relating the history of railways, Mr. McLean is in his element, and the interesting story of their construction, their failures, their government grants, their differing gauges, their competition (especially in the case of the Grand Trunk) with water transportation, their rate wars and amalgamations, are told by a master of his subject. The only error noted is on page 401, where in line 3 "per week" should be inserted to make the Grand Trunk's estimate of its revenue work out at the figure quoted.

If early highways are to some extent neglected, early shipping is certainly not overlooked by Mr. M. J. Patton,

who writes on "Shipping and Canals". The whole story of Canadian shipping, from Talon's establishment of a ship-building yard at Quebec and La Salle's launch of the *Griffon* on the Welland river to the recent construction of steel steamships on the Great Lakes, is treated in considerable detail. The importance of the early shipping on Lake Ontario in conveying the products of the pioneer settlers to a market at Montreal is fully developed, and warm appreciation is given to the efforts of William Hamilton Merritt, and his associates and successors, in opening a water route from Lake Erie and the upper Lakes. Sir Samuel Cunard is the other hero of this side of Canadian history. The story of his connection with the *Royal William*, built at Quebec and the first vessel to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam power, is intensely interesting, as is the account of the amalgamation of the Lake lines into "Canada Steamships, Limited". Finally, ocean shipping is treated in considerable detail; in fact, the over-abundance of detail here is occasionally wearisome.

Last comes Mr. Shortt's account of "The Banking System of Canada". The first Bank Act of 1871 is fairly exhaustively dealt with, but this can hardly be said of the subsequent history. In a field where he is the acknowledged master it may be presumptuous to criticize, yet it must be said that the space occupied by Mr. Shortt is hardly commensurate with the part played by the banks in the economic history of the country. A chart illustrating the growth of banking capital, reserves, and deposits since Confederation would have been a desirable addition. It is also rather unfortunate that we have not the good fortune to secure Mr. Shortt's opinion on the changes made by the new Bank Act.

S. A. CUDMORE

A pamphlet by Mr. Georges Pelletier* is a reprint of articles published in *Le Devoir* in the autumn of 1913. The articles were written from first-hand observations of the none too satisfactory conditions of immigrants entering Canada.

**L'Immigration Canadienne*. By Georges Pelletier. Montreal, 1913. Pp. 73.

However, the investigation was admittedly more rapid and less careful and thorough than is desirable. Mr. Pelletier suggests a number of reforms, but concludes by advocating that the question should be referred to a Royal Commission of Inquiry.

Mr. Stanwood reviews the history of reciprocity negotiations between the United States and Canada, in the different periods,* dealing with the negotiations prior to the Elgin-Marcy Treaty of 1854, with the agitation for and against the abrogation of the treaty, with Canada's attempts to negotiate a new treaty, and with the negotiations begun by the United States in 1910. Concerning reciprocity in the fifties, he says that dissatisfaction with the working of the treaty was felt from the first by those who lived along the northern fringe of the United States and competed with Canada, but that there was no dissatisfaction with the arrangement with the Maritime Provinces. The extension of American dissatisfaction was due in part to the increase of Canadian duties on manufactured goods and in part to events and conditions of the civil war, but it required a concurrence of both causes to secure from Congress the passage of the resolution of abrogation. Even then there was strong opposition to abrogation and support for an amended and truly reciprocal system. Mr. Stanwood believes that generations who live in the millenium will regard the present tariff barriers between the United States and Canada as the height of folly.

Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1913. Kingston [Ontario]. 1914. Pp. 154.

This is the first publication of an association temporarily formed in Boston in December 1912, with Mr. Adam Shortt as president and Professor O. D. Skelton as secretary-treasurer. At the first annual meeting of the Association

**Trade Reciprocity with Canada.* By Edward Stanwood. (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 47, pp. 141-177.)

held September 4-6, 1914, at Ottawa, papers now published in the Proceedings were discussed.

A paper by Mr. C. Hill-Tout of Vancouver lays emphasis on the needed restoration of the balance between agriculture and industry, and deplores the present tendency to depreciate agriculture. He deals particularly with agricultural conditions in British Columbia where the pursuit of agriculture is neglected, in spite of the wonderful opportunities. Government assistance in the form of co-operation, agricultural credit, and agricultural education is urged. Mr. J. A. Stevenson of Winnipeg reviews the importance of agricultural assistance and indicates some possible measures such as are already in force in the province of Saskatchewan.

A paper by Dr. Bonar on Canada's balance of trade declares that Canada's unfavourable balance in 1913 was still healthy. This amount Canada had been borrowing from England, but England had not been supplying the goods that were purchased with the funds thus supplied. The United States alone had been sending to Canada an amount sufficiently in excess of Canadian exports to account for Canada's unfavourable balance amounting to \$200,000,000. Dr. Bonar draws the conclusion that the American trade has been financed by the English loans. Canada has used English money with which to buy American goods.

Mr. E. F. Newcombe of Montreal discusses the working of the "Lloyd George Insurance Act" and Mr. B. M. Stewart describes the housing conditions of immigrant workers.

The most interesting paper in many respects is that by Mr. R. H. Coats of the Department of Labour on the rôle of the middleman. Mr. Coats has no doubt as to the economic function of the middleman, but this usefulness is no justification for the evident spread between the cost to the producer and the price to the retailer. Sometimes this difference is due to the opportunity the middleman has, especially in times of rising prices, to take more than seems necessary. More often it is due to the distribution system. Examples of good marketing methods and the effect of these are given in a satisfactory way. There is no doubt that

Mr. Coats has presented a point of view which is engaging the attention of a larger body of economists, especially at this time when economic organization and business efficiency are receiving so much praise.

Party politics were discussed in addresses by Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Adam Shortt. An address by Dr. Andrew McPhail is omitted because it was published elsewhere. In an address on "Municipal Government", Professor W. B. Munro of Harvard University declares in favour of a return to the English system of undivided power and responsibility. Canadian cities have wandered from the right path, following Toronto, which has borrowed that malefactor among institutions, the Board of Control, from the United States.

W. J. A. DONALD

An article on Canadian banking by Mr. W. W. Swanson* deals with current gossip respecting a number of banking problems in Canada. Mr. Swanson presents evidence to show that the profits of Canadian banks are not excessive. The significance of the term "profit on entire assets" is by no means clear. He is inclined to think favourably of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Land Mortgage Association Act. He favours the practice of establishing branches outside of Canada. "Money trust" talk does not receive his support; in fact, he thinks that wastes of competition might be avoided by additional bank amalgamations.

History of Canadian Wealth. Vol. I. By Gustavus Myers. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. 1914. Pp. vi, 337.

In recent years Canadian journals have from time to time drawn attention to the economic and political influence of a small group of millionaires. It has frequently been asserted that a group of at most fifty men practically own, and certainly control, all Canadian industry. This is the text of Mr. Gustavus Myers's latest researches in the history

**Present Problems in Canadian Banking.* By W. W. Swanson. (American Economic Review, June, 1914, pp. 304-315.)

of great fortunes. The beginning of the system of capitalistic development and concentration in Canada is found in the early grants of charters to trading companies and of lands to seigniorial lords and to land companies. "From these primitive powers conferred and from fortunes amassed in fur-trading, land, and commerce, came the wealth often invested later in mercantile establishments, land companies, banks, railway projects, mines and factories. All of these pyramidally reproduced still other accumulations of wealth progressively invested and reinvested" (p. iv). Volume II, which is not yet published, will no doubt find the process of capitalistic development complete and the system about ready to totter to the grave it has already dug for itself.

It is unnecessary in this brief review to mention any of the startling revelations of the author. Many of them are really not revelations, as they have been the subject of public discussion in the past. That the country should have been subjected to such capitalistic exploitation and yet have reached its present stage of prosperity is ample evidence of Canada's natural advantages. The accumulation of the products of Mr. Myers's "muck-rake" provides a spectacle which cannot be regarded as other than a sad commentary on Canadian political and economic life.

Few if any of the charges made by the author can be denied. Mr. Myers has been careful to use only evidence that may be reckoned as authentic such as government reports and published letters and "reminiscences". In very few instances does the author rely on unproven statements or on implication as proof of his argument. Probably a little too much reliance is placed on evidence taken from partisan speeches in the House of Commons for assertions made in the last few chapters of the book; but, it must be confessed, the fortunes considered in this section, though they may be more numerous, are not the largest in Canada.

But, granting that practically every statement and implication in the book is correct, one cannot but feel that the book leaves a general impression that is unwarranted. Canada has made progress, and it is common to attribute

to many of the men condemned by this book a great deal of credit for constructive work. It is better that Canada should have endured the growing pains than that she should not have developed at all. It cannot, however, be denied that Canada would have been more prosperous in the past and would be more prosperous to-day had many of the politico-economic events narrated in this *History of Canadian Wealth* not occurred.

W. J. A. DONALD

Mr. H. Michell writes in *Queen's Quarterly* on *The Problem of Agricultural Credit in Canada*.^{*} The article begins by reciting the charges laid against Canadian commercial banks by witnesses before the Saskatchewan Royal Agricultural Credit Commission. The author then reviews the German *Landschaften*, by which loans are raised on mortgages procured for the borrower by a society of land-owners who issue their own bonds secured by the land of the borrowers, the *Caisses Populaires* of Quebec, which receive deposits and lend on short time loan to members, and the Australian system of direct state mortgage loans, as possible solutions of the problem. The recommendations of the Saskatchewan Commission are criticized in some detail. The author doubts the assumption that the western farmers will accept the co-operative spirit. Party politics, lack of business acumen, the migratory tendencies of the population, the lack of any sentiment of thrift, are other sources of danger. Mixed farming rather than artificial assistance may yet prove the salvation of agriculture. This last is the only constructive suggestion. The author concludes by saying that the Saskatchewan Commission was wise in recommending a modified *Landschaften* system but that the modifications recommended by it are open to criticism, and that the system will not go into effect in the near future. The diction and general form of the paper leave much to be desired, and reveal the lack of proper editing. Another

^{*}*The Problem of Agricultural Credit in Canada.* By H. Michell. (*Queen's Quarterly*, January 1914, pp. 328-351.)

article by the same writer is a summary of the character and history of *The Grange in Canada*.^{*} The form and objects of the organization, the founding of the order in the United States, its establishment and its rise and decline in Canada, make an interesting story. The "reasons for failure" (the author concludes that the Grange was not a failure) were the lack of the gregarious and co-operative spirit among farmers, disastrous financial and commercial experiments such as the Grange Trust Company, the Grange Fire Insurance Company, and the Grange Wholesale Supply Company, extravagance in paying delegates, the counter attractions of the farmers' institutes, and especially internal dissensions. As the Grange succeeded in having a certain amount of legislation passed in Ontario, and as it did give the farmers a sense of common interests, it was not altogether a failure. It has somewhat revived since 1907 by amalgamation with the "Farmers' Association".

In the *Journal of Political Economy* for 1914 Mr. S. Roy Weaver has three articles. The one on *Canada's Parcel Post* (pp. 536-549) outlines the history of the movement, gives the rate structure in convenient tables, and compares the system with that of the United States. The article also contains comments on and extracts from the comparison of the parcel post and express rates in Canada published in the *Toronto Board of Trade News*. Mr. Weaver believes that the system will grow in economic importance. A note on the *Financing of Farms in Saskatchewan* (pp. 384-388) is a convenient short statement of the findings and recommendations of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on agricultural credit. The paper on *Taxation in New France* traces the development from a system of feudal changes through the period of control by revenue farmers, when the exaction on furs was of dwindling importance while import duties increased, to the period when a general tariff was arranged by one of the departments of the royal government. Local taxation was almost impossible and unknown. The system shows the

^{*}*The Grange in Canada*. By H. Michell. (Ibid., October 1914, pp. 164-183.)

effects of the new environment of a vast unsettled territory. In general it was based upon expediency, accident and fortuity, rather than upon theory. A close relationship exists between taxation before the conquest and the fiscal expedients adopted after 1763.

Report of the Civic Survey Committee. Prepared by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Toronto. 1914. Pp. 268.

The report of the Civic Survey Committee on a survey of the Treasury, Assessment, Works, Fire and Property Departments of Toronto is by all odds the most important publication of the year pertaining to municipal affairs in Canada. It is well known that public business has lagged behind private business in the development of efficient methods. This, the report says, has been due largely to four causes: (1) the failure of the citizens to recognize their vital personal interest in the conduct of civic affairs; (2) the absence of the factor of competition so prominent in private business; (3) the fallacious belief that public business differs essentially from private business; (4) the failure to see that the rivalry between cities for desirable industries and fine types of new citizens can only be determined in favour of any city by the very closest scrutiny, on the part of the citizens and the city government, of the city's programme and expenditures.

The survey which grew out of these considerations was conducted by experts of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. The report is not a criticism of any person connected with the city government of Toronto. It is an attempt to point out that certain conditions handicap officers of the city and that citizens as well as officers should assume responsibility for the continuance of these conditions. Attention is devoted almost entirely to administrative defects which are primarily those of method and not of men. The experts met with a spirit of frankness and of wholesome regard for community welfare on the part of those in the public service. Although the report was made for a non-

official agency, the statements of fact, the critical suggestions and the constructive recommendations were all taken up and discussed in detail with officials before the final draft was prepared. It ought to be said in this connection that the experts of the New York Bureau never make a criticism without recommending what they believe to be an improvement.

The report on the Treasury Department calls attention to legal obstructions to good administration, to the lack of adequate supervision and effective control over the city's finances, administrative questions relating to the debt limit, administration of sinking funds, the annual report, and lack of adequate equipment. It schedules "What the city might be told about its business through its annual reports", and suggests economies in the water revenue division.

For the Assessment Department the report advises the use of the two column assessment system, a study of assessment of improvements on land, publicity, land value maps, lot and block system, up-to-date business and income assessments, more city planning, proper terms for local improvement bonds, and improved office equipment and methods.

In the report on the Works Department recommendations are made for centralization of working forces, new accounting procedure, revision of forms, a municipal civil service, adequate office accommodation, etc.

The report on the Fire Department recommends the establishment of a fire prevention bureau, a pension system for employees, improved fire fighting equipment, training of firemen, and improvements in the business organization and administration of the department.

The report on the Property Department advises in detail that many functions of the present department should be transferred to other departments. It recommends also comfort stations, adequate city garage, and the standardization and improvement of accounts and records.

Other features of the municipal government of Toronto received only casual attention, and the Bureau has not therefore published a formal report on them. The convenient form

in which the whole document is prepared is worthy of commendation. Headings of sections appear in the text, and also in the index attached to each report.

W. J. A. DONALD

A statistical compilation on the finances of the cities of western Canada* has been published. It will be found useful for reference, although the treatment varies very much for the different towns. Municipal balance sheets are given unfortunately only in a few instances.

The *Report of Addresses and Proceedings*† of the Social Service Congress held at Ottawa in 1914 is issued. It contains a wealth of information and ideas on every branch of what is commonly known as Social Service. Temperance, political purity, prison reform, gambling, the white slave traffic, the welfare of children, are some of the subjects on which addresses were given. Other addresses were of a less specialized character, such as "Radical tendencies among workmen", and "The call of the new day to the old Church". The Social Service Council of Canada, under whose auspices the Congress was held, was organized under a slightly different name in 1907. Its object is to unite the Churches and other large social or economic organizations "for the purpose of forming those reforms and engaging in those forms of social service on which all the bodies federated agree". There are great opportunities before this body, and the success which attended the first Congress held under its auspices will be an encouragement. Among the resolutions passed by the Congress was one recommending the establishment by the Social Service Council of a bureau of social surveys and research. In this way alone a real beginning of systematic activity can be made.

**Canada, the Western Cities: their Borrowings and their Assets.* By Henry Howard. London: Investors' Guardian. 1914. Pp. 120.

†*Social Service Congress, Ottawa, 1914: Report of Addresses and Proceedings.* Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada. [1914]. Pp. 358.

Mr. Arthur Saint-Pierre is the secretary of the *Ecole Sociale Populaire* of Montreal, an organization for encouraging the study of social problems in Catholic circles. The movement is an interesting evidence of the interest taken by the Church in questions of this character, and of its desire to spread sound information among its adherents. The first half of the volume published by Mr. Saint-Pierre* consists of miscellaneous addresses; the latter is devoted to labour problems. The chapters are interpretative rather than original, and are perhaps intended rather to arouse curiosity than to allay it. Among the topics surveyed in this manner are the following: agricultural co-operation, co-operative banking, elementary education in Quebec, trade unionism in various aspects, the experiences of a communistic colony in Paraguay. It would greatly add to the value of this movement if more attention were given to the study of local economic problems at first hand.

The *Revue Economique Canadienne* for 1914 contains nothing relating to Canadian economic history. Most of the articles are descriptive of Canada's natural resources. Mr. H. Laureys writes on *Les Combustibles Minéraux du Canada*, on *Les Forêts du Canada*, and on *La Production du Mica au Canada*. Mr. Arthur Surveyer discusses at some length the water-powers of Canada in *La Mise en Valeur de nos Chutes d'Eau*; and Mr. A. Pelland contributes an *Esquisse Géologique des Ressources Minières de la Gaspésie*. A paper of wider interest is Mr. A. J. de Bray's *La Réforme des Statistiques Canadiennes*, in which the creation of a central statistical commission by the Dominion government is urged.

Mr. Southall's *Imperial Year Book for the Dominion of Canada*† contains some very useful information. The list of British consuls throughout the world is novel and valu-

**Questions et Oeuvres Sociales de chez nous*. Par Arthur Saint-Pierre. Montreal: L'Ecole Sociale Populaire. 1914. Pp. 264.

†*Imperial Year Book for the Dominion of Canada, 1914-1915*. Edited by A. E. Southall. Montreal: Imperial Year Book. 1914. Pp. 572.

able. Each department of the government service has a section allotted to it in which information and statistics are given. Thus under the Department of Marine and Fisheries is to be found a list of the steamships engaged in Canadian sea-going trade, with their respective dimensions, tonnage, etc. Space is also allotted to the British Empire in general and to the several Dominions, colonies and dependencies that make up the Empire. A list of battleships and other vessels constituting the Imperial Navy is included.

*The Settlers' Guide** is presumably an annual, giving statistical and other information of use to the intending immigrant. The facts are stated with commendable conciseness, and the advice is also brief, but usually sound and to the point. A few errors may be pointed out. The railway mileage of Canada is not "all privately owned"; the Inter-colonial Railway is owned and operated by the Dominion government. There may be statistical justification for saying that the average salary for school teachers in rural districts is £11 a month, but, as a matter of fact, the great majority of rural school teachers, by no means command so large a salary, and more useful information for the intending immigrant schoolmaster or mistress would be the range of salary rather than the average. *The Anglo-Canadian Year Book*† is a more imposing volume, being entirely devoted to Canadian matters, but it is a work of reference for editors and politicians rather than a hand-book for immigrants. It sets out in full the British North America Act and the supplementary and amending Acts. It also gives the customs tariff, and other more or less official documents and statistical compilations. Perhaps the most useful part of the book is the collection of regulations which hedge about the different callings. One learns from this volume how to proceed in order to "set up" in Canada as an auctioneer, an

**The Settlers' Guide. Greater Britain in 1914.* Edited by G. Gordon Brown and G. Noel Brown. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Pp. 442.

†*The Anglo-Canadian Year Book, 1914.* By Keith Morris. London: William Stevens. Pp. 368.

architect, a chemist, a solicitor, a dentist, even as a commercial traveller.

*Homes and Careers in Canada** is one of the never ceasing stream of books of advice to the immigrant. The author gives much sound information along with some that is not so sound. He speaks of the immigrants from the United States as if they were all of British origin (p. 28). He speaks of the increasing proportion of British in the province of Quebec (p. 33). These are pleasing delusions. It is also hardly in accordance with facts to say that in Canada "everybody talks of the 'C.P.R.' as if it were a personal friend" (p. 52). The Grand Trunk Pacific does not lie "partly in Canada and partly in the United States" (p. 59). Sixty million tons of coal in the Edmonton coal field (p. 61) would be a very small pocket indeed; the real estimate is probably a thousand times as much. The idea that the unearned increment of lands set apart for school purposes will do away with the necessity of levying taxes for education (p. 129) is not borne out by experience. But Mr. Jeffs is quite right in emphasizing the importance to the immigrant of assuming a teachable attitude. "The agriculture of the prairie is 'dry agriculture' which is a science in itself" (p. 73). "The only wise course to adopt, whether [the immigrant] were at home a wage-earning labourer or a farmer's son whose father could give him a little capital, is to take the position of a farm hand under a Canadian farmer for at least a year" (p. 75). The author remarks upon the universal tendency for every man to own his farm, and in the towns to own his house, and in this connection (p. 179) he justly condemns the equally universal tendency to extravagance. A home-maker, he says, makes up his mind that he must build his house in a certain locality or in a certain street, and no consideration of price will affect this determination. One consequence of this is inflation in the value of town property, which has been so mischievous a factor

**Homes and careers in Canada*. By H. Jeffs. London: James Clarke & Company. 1914. Pp. 200.

in Canadian urban development. Inflated prices mean inflated assessments and municipal extravagance. The load of debt that Canadian towns are heaping up will be a crushing burden upon them for many a weary year.

In Miss Weaver's *Canada and the British Immigrant** the usual summary of economic and social conditions and geography is set forth for the benefit of Englishmen interested directly or indirectly in Canada. It is pleasantly written and gives a very fair account of the settlement and progress of the country. There is nothing new or striking said, but this is a point in the book's favour, for it implies that the plain facts are not distorted or exaggerated. It is curious that one of the most daring experiments in governmental business activity should have been made by the eastern provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick having authorized their governments to buy land and prepare farms to be sold to newcomers. A more legitimate undertaking for the government is the establishment in Manitoba of consolidated schools, to which children from a distance are conveyed in vans. The co-operative movement among the farmers in the prairie provinces is worth attention. In Saskatchewan there are a co-operative elevator company, a co-operative telephone system for the country districts, and co-operative creameries. It is interesting also to learn that the prize for the best one hundred pounds of milling wheat grown in America, offered at a "Land Exhibition" in New York in 1911, was carried off by a farmer living forty miles north of Saskatoon.

Miss Binnie-Clark is an accomplished woman. Having amused herself in her time with music and art, she turned to farming in the Canadian West as a more satisfying outlet for her energies, doing a little newspaper and magazine work by the way and writing two books about her experiences. The first of these was reviewed by us some years ago (see

**Canada and the British Immigrant*. By Emily P. Weaver. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1914. Pp. xiv, 312.

REVIEW, vol. xv, p. 112); it related her summer adventures while helping a brother who had taken up land near Qu'Appelle. That summer apparently fired her with the desire to farm on her own account, and her latest volume, *Wheat and Woman*,* describes the experiment, or at least the first few years of it. There is no literary trifling with the subject here, no generalities, no advice to settlers, no statistics. The book is an entirely veracious narrative, filled with the details of a three-year struggle to make farming pay. Nothing is slurred over, no one is spared. Her own initial ignorance and self-sufficiency, the superior airs of her brothers, the laziness or incapacity of her hired men, the occasional sharp practice of those with whom she had to make her purchases and sales, are all impartially set forth, and with a superabundance of technical description that only a farmer can follow. Withal, the author is skilled in wielding the pen and her descriptions of her agricultural performances are never dull. There are lessons to be learned from this book by all intending farmers in the western provinces, although the prime lesson of all is that the only effectual teacher is bitter, grinding experience.

All Afloat: a Chronicle of Craft and Waterways. By William Wood. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company. 1914. Pp. 200.

All Afloat is an ambitious title, but Lieut.-Colonel William Wood's chronicle of craft and waterways lives up to its name, and in so far as two hundred small pages can do so the volume gives everything afloat in Canada its due—from the birch-bark canoes of the aborigines to the phantom Dreadnoughts of Canada in 1913. The book is a chronicle, not a controversy, but it is a chronicle of modern as well as bygone times, and its penultimate paragraph reads: "The Senate reversed the decision of the Commons in 1913, with the result that Canada's total naval contribution up to date

**Wheat and Woman.* By Georgina Binnie-Clark. London: William Heinemann. [1914.] Pp. vi, 414.

consisted of five years' discussion and a little three-year-old navy which had far less than half the fighting power of New Zealand's single Dreadnought."

The vastness of Canada's waters, fresh and salt, has been emphasized by other writers in such a way that the imagination has only grasped them in association with mountains, prairies, and forests, all huge in extent and emphatically empty of men. *All Afloat* tells in an interesting way of the life that has disputed the rule of these great waters with the whale, the porpoise, the storm-king and the cataract for the last thousand years. The story embodies refreshing combination of technical knowledge and simple language.

"Canadian history is full of sea-power, but Canadian histories are not", is one of Colonel Wood's epigrams, and he instances some surprising facts. There were twice as many sailors under Saunders as there were soldiers under Wolfe at Quebec, and the fleet which carried them was the greatest single fleet which, up to that time, had ever appeared in any waters. Moreover, there have already been two local Canadian navies of different kinds and two Canadian branches of Imperial navies overseas. There was a naval engagement in Hudson Bay three hundred and seventeen years ago. There was steamer transport in the war of 1812. Canada supplied the first steamer to fire a shot in action, and the first vessel to cross the Atlantic entirely under steam. In the days of wooden hulls and canvas Canada was the fourth shipping country in the world. The biggest sailing vessel to make a Scottish port in the great clipper-ship era was all-Canadian. And Canadian fisheries to-day are the most important in the world.

These are facts from *All Afloat*, culled at random, and almost in the author's words. The limits of two hundred pages enforce very severe condensation, when history, geography, maritime law, shipbuilding science, and the art of navigation all claim a share of space; yet the writer finds room for many a windlass chanty and a vivid bit of description of Cape Horn weather as a Bluenose ship might find it.

Dana did the Horn well. So did Paul Eve Stevenson. Colonel Wood's picture of the *Victoria's* wrestle is worthy of a place with their work. It is a flash revealing the splendour of the life of Canada's ships "fit to go foreign". The coasters' combat with tide, fog and ice; the fight for fish; the canal conquest—these are phases of Canadian water-lore that yet await their epic. *All Afloat* does not ignore them, for nothing nautical escapes the writer's attention; but their full glory has yet to be revealed. Perhaps Colonel Wood will undertake the task.

C. H. J. SNIDER

Professor Leacock's *Adventurers of the Far North*, in the "Chronicles of Canada" series,* is a very readable account of the search for the North-West Passage. A chapter is devoted first to the great Elizabethan navigators, Frobisher and Davis. Then the narrative jumps to Hearne's journey to the mouth of the Coppermine, and to Mackenzie's journey to the mouth of the Mackenzie. The story of Henry Hudson is omitted entirely, but certainly Hudson's passage of Hudson Strait belongs rather to the history of the discovery of the North-West Passage than, as Professor Leacock suggests, to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company. By far the greater part of the book, however, is devoted to the voyages of Sir John Franklin; and here, in spite of the somewhat disproportionate amount of space which is devoted to Franklin, Professor Leacock is at his best. The story is told with a vividness which makes it a remarkable piece of historical writing; the attention of the reader is held as in a vice from first to last. The book concludes with a chapter on recent polar explorations, although, as Professor Leacock points out, these fall somewhat outside the scope of his narrative. The aim of the book is to present a popular account of exploration in the far north of Canada; and in this aim it succeeds admirably. It does not pretend, how-

**Adventurers of the Far North: a Chronicle of the Frozen Seas.* By Stephen Leacock. (Chronicles of Canada Series.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xi, 152.

ever, to contain any new matter; and as may be seen from the bibliography at the back, it is based merely on the standard authorities dealing with the subject.

We regret to have to note the loss of the *Karluk*, Mr. Stefánsson's ship, which was crushed in the ice near Wrangell Island on January 11, 1914. Most of the crew with adequate provisions got away safely and made a landing on Wrangell Island;* they were subsequently rescued and brought to Alaska. Unfortunately two parties of four men each had separated from the rest and were lost on the journey from the scene of the shipwreck to Wrangell Island, about sixty miles over the ice floes. Among these were Beuchat, the French archaeologist, and Murray, a son of the late Sir John Murray, an oceanographer like his father. Stefánsson was not with the ship at the time.

Lands Forlorn: a Story of an Expedition to Hearne's Coppermine River. By George M. Douglas. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914. Pp. xvi, 286.

Just as Hearne, in the eighteenth century, set out after copper and brought back to civilization a tale of adventure that has become a classic of exploration, so does Mr. George Douglas, journeying into the wilderness for scientific investigation, return from it with one of the most charming narratives of travel in Canada that has appeared for many years. Milton and Cheadle, and Butler, are the authors that occur to one for a comparison. Not that Mr. Douglas's journey was as hazardous or as full of adventure and character as those of the earlier authors mentioned. But there is something in his outlook and in his treatment of the subject that marks him as a kindred spirit.

The Coppermine river in its lower course breaks through a succession of rocky hills or terraces which have long been known to contain copper. Hearne was the first European to visit the river, in 1771. He seems to have expected to find

**Loss of the Karluk and Escape of the Expedition to Wrangell Island.* (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, July 1914, pp. 520-523.)

native copper strewn about in large lumps. He was disappointed. In 1821 Richardson, who accompanied Franklin, the next European visitor, made a few geological notes on the formation of the hills. Since that time occasional explorers, Simpson, in 1838, and Hanbury, in 1899, noted signs of the presence of copper in these rocks, but made no scientific investigation. It was therefore with this ostensible object that Mr. Douglas, himself an engineer with experience of copper-mining, accompanied by his brother, an officer in the Navy, and by Dr. Sandberg, a chemist and metallurgist, undertook his expedition.

The party reached Fort Norman by scow and steamboat, and began the ascent of Great Bear river on July 8, 1912. Winter quarters were established on the Dease river near its mouth, but first a preliminary reconnaissance was carried out up the Dease and over the water-shed to the lower Coppermine itself. Besides making sure of the way in preparation for the spring journey, the explorers were even able to make a beginning of a geological survey of the Coppermine mountains. But this was necessarily brief, for they had to hurry back to Dease river before winter frosts made paddling impossible. Their route from the one river to the other seems to have been that followed by Simpson in 1838, for they came upon traces of his camps, undisturbed for nearly seventy-five years! Of Hanbury's camps, strange to say, they found no sign whatever, although they were evidently upon his route also. Indeed Hanbury's description of his wonderful journey was their only guide.

From the end of September to the following April the trio led a placid routine existence, interchanging duties week by week, cooking, wood-chopping, hunting. They were warmly housed, well fed, and sufficiently active to preserve health of body and mind. In the pages of Mr. Douglas's narrative it seems almost an enviable life. But for complete enjoyment of it one must be qualified by possessing the philosophic temperament of Mr. Douglas who could find wood-chopping an interesting and productive employment after the sterile occupation of a week's hunting.

The long evenings were whiled away with books and cards. As to cards, hear the author's narrative:

"We had only a couple of packs of cards with us and they went through various stages of increasing dirtiness. After a few weeks' use, hearts would easily be confused with diamonds, or clubs with spades. Then it got difficult to tell any of the suits from each other, or face cards from spots; and the last stage was reached when it took close study to distinguish the backs of the cards from the fronts."

On April 30, having made all ready for their journey and obtained dogs from the Indians to draw sleds and carry packs, they abandoned their comfortable winter quarters and set out for the Coppermine river. This journey was easier and more expeditious than the journey by canoe in the autumn. The dogs were both an alleviation of toil and an aggravation to the temper, but they were also a new source of interest. The author notes how a dog's character develops under the strenuous conditions of life in the North. "Certainly I had never before seen dogs of such pronounced individualities as those we had now got together, or who in their traits and behaviours so exactly resembled certain types of men." The complete description of the dogs is too long for quotation, but it is one of the most delightful passages in the book.

During a stay of about four weeks on the Coppermine river the geological survey of the strip of country through which it flows was completed from the southernmost appearance of the basalt, in latitude $67^{\circ} 3'$, to the last outcrop in the north about ten miles from Coronation Gulf. They encountered more than one party of Eskimos.

"It was a delight to meet these vivacious well-bred people after the sulky Indians; their manners indeed were just as good [as] and very similar to our own. . . it was hard to believe, so far as conduct and behaviour went, that we were not dealing with highly civilized and cultivated people. They had the same easy manners and the same well-bred ways usual with all people of culture."

One of the most notable features of the book is its illustrations. The author is an expert photographer, and the collection of photographs of the scenery is of itself a very remarkable record. One hardly needs the author's glowing descriptions to understand the beauty of these desolate landscapes with their luminousness and atmosphere.

The colour indeed cannot be rendered by a photograph, but the descriptions in the text at least suggest it. Among the illustrations are two portraits of the author which might almost be entitled, "The Dream, and its Realization".

In the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines for 1913 there is a subsidiary report* by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell on an expedition made by him in the preceding year for the purpose of selecting the strip of land at the mouth of the Nelson river to which the province of Ontario is entitled under an agreement with the province of Manitoba. He was also to obtain information about the country extending from the southeastern bank of the Nelson river to the western boundary of Ontario, through which a new railway is likely to be built by the province. He and his companions reached the starting-point of their survey, the mouth of the Nelson, by the easiest route from Norway House, following the Nelson for a short distance and then crossing to Hayes river by means of the Echimamish. A suitable waterfront at the mouth of the Nelson was laid out and a careful survey was also made of the last sixty miles of Hayes river, from where the Shamattawa enters it from the south. Time did not allow of fully carrying out the rest of their task, but some idea was obtained of the country south and east of Hayes river, and Mr. Tyrrell made an exploration of the Severn and Fawn rivers before returning to civilization. An excellent map accompanies the report and fills up many deficiencies of existing maps, especially in the region where the head waters of the Fawn river lie. A sketch of the physical features and geology of the District of Patricia is included in the report.

The Earl of Dunraven's volume of sporting adventures entitled *Canadian Nights*† is not a record of recent experi-

**Hudson Bay Exploring Expedition, 1912.* By J. B. Tyrrell. (Reprinted from the 22nd Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, 1913.) Pp. 52.

†*Canadian Nights, being sketches and reminiscences of life and sport in the Rockies, the prairies, and the Canadian woods.* By the Earl of Dunraven, London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1914. Pp. 296.

ences. The title-page does not reveal this fact, and a note inserted at the end of the volume merely states that the sketches first appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. As a matter of fact, the chapters which make up the volume were first published in that periodical in the years 1879, 1880 and 1881, and appear to have received no revision in the light of subsequent events. The book is really therefore a production of thirty odd years ago. It is pleasantly written, but there seems no sufficient reason why the papers should have been exhumed and republished now, without comment or annotation of any kind to show that they depict conditions of a past generation.

Father Baudot describes his journey from Paris to Frenchtown, Montana, in 1902, to engage in mission work.* At Frenchtown he came into touch with a district settled by French-Canadians in 1860. The volume contains an interesting discussion of mission work in Montana, a description of Blackfeet customs, and a study of the influence of Christianity upon the mode of life and character of the *Coeurs d'Alène*, but has no especial bearing upon Canada or Canadian history.

Among the Canadian Alps. By Lawrence J. Burpee. New York and London: John Lane; Toronto: Bell & Cockburn. 1914. Pp. 240.

Mountaineering and Exploration in the Selkirks. By Howard Palmer. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914. Pp. xxviii, 440.

The Canadian Alpine Journal. Published by the Alpine Club of Canada. 1913. Pp. 138.

It is unfortunate in one respect that the adjoining mountain systems of British Columbia have received each its own name, for there is now no single term that can be applied to the entire mountainous area of western Canada.

**Au Pays des Peaux-Rouges. Six ans aux Montagnes Rocheuses. Monographies indiennes.* Par P. Victor Baudot, S.J. Bruges: Société Saint-Augustin, Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie. [1914.] Pp. 238.

The name "Canadian Alps" is a miserable substitute that seems likely to stick, but it ought to have been possible to keep the fine-sounding and long-established "Rocky Mountains" as the current phase for the whole mountain mass, and let the geologists invent a new name for the particular wrinkle in the earth's crust to which they have now limited it.

Mr. Burpee's book is not a record of personal experiences in climbing or exploring; it is a description of some of the choice but easily accessible mountain neighbourhoods, embellished with beautiful illustrations both from photographs and paintings. The first chapter contains an excellent historical sketch of exploration through the mountains to the Pacific, beginning with Niverville, the first white man of whom it can be certainly said that he beheld the Rockies in Canadian territory. This was in 1751. Niverville was closely followed by the Hudson's Bay Company, but it was not for more than forty years, in 1793, that exploration was pushed through to salt water on the Pacific. A similar historical sketch of mountain climbing in the Rockies and Selkirks is given farther on in the book. The author dates the commencement of mountaineering in western Canada from the visit of W. S. Green in 1888. This is hardly correct. The *popularity* of mountaineering may date from Mr. Green's expedition and the publication of his book, but the sport itself goes back at least four years, to the journey of Professor A. P. Coleman in 1884. Although the latter climbed no mountain of 10,000 feet or upwards, he climbed more than one of over 8,000 feet, and his account of his expedition is instinct with the true spirit of the game. It is only fair, therefore, that Dr. Coleman should be recognized as the father of Canadian mountaineering.

Among the subsidiary matters dealt with by Mr. Burpee the preservation of game in the various national and provincial parks is of great interest. It is to be hoped that the policy of increasing the number and likewise the area of these parks will be pursued steadily. Only in this way can the preservation of wild life of all kinds be secured, and also a

sufficiency of recreation places for the future people of Canada be provided. The most urgent necessity now is to set apart areas for bird sanctuaries. The destruction of bird life in eastern Canada has proceeded at such a pace that serious consequences are threatened, and measures of conservation are imperative to prevent practical extinction of the most valuable species.

Mr. Howard Palmer's book is for the most part a record of climbs and of expeditions leading to climbs, undertaken or participated in by the author. Many of the chapters have appeared before in journals of geographical or mountaineering societies and have already been noticed in earlier volumes of this REVIEW.* Mr. Palmer's efforts were chiefly directed to ascending Mount Sir Sandford, the loftiest of the Selkirk Mountains. After several years of failure he succeeded in 1912. The exploration of valleys and passes which precede actual mountain climbing in an unsurveyed district like the northern Selkirks is of considerable geographic interest, and for that reason Mr. Palmer's book has a place in the literature of Canadian geography.

The Selkirks differ from the Rockies in being a compact mass of mountains with narrow steep-sided valleys. The position of the Selkirks enables them to intercept much of the moisture carried eastward from the Pacific, so that the precipitation of rain and snow on their slopes is abundant, producing dense forests in the valleys and lower levels and supporting extensive glaciers and névés at the higher altitudes. The conditions for mountain climbing are thus more similar to those of Switzerland than are conditions in the Rockies. The rock is also firmer and not so liable to crumble in dangerous chimneys. Yet in spite of these apparent inducements to climbers the exploration of the Selkirks has lagged behind that of the Rockies. Early explorers and travellers, who sought only an easy way through to the coast, naturally went round the great mass of the northern Selkirks. Even the early surveyors for the transcontinental

*See REVIEW xv, 149; xvi, 119; xviii, 153.

railway did little to clear up the geography. The steep slopes and narrow valleys, liable to avalanche or rock-slide, were not suitable for their purpose. There was found however a practicable pass, which bears the name of its discoverer, Major Rogers, and the Canadian Pacific Railway has run through it ever since 1886. The presence of the railway exerted its usual stimulating influence upon travel, and in 1888 the first exploration was made by Professor Coleman into the hitherto unknown region of the Selkirks north of the railway. The first recorded ascent in that region was made by him in the course of his expedition when he climbed a mountain not since identified, but probably not far from the peak now known as Mount Stockmer. Since that date many mountaineers have visited the Selkirks and added to our knowledge of the geography of the region. But a glance at the excellent maps contained in Mr. Palmer's book will show how small a portion of the total area of the Selkirks is adequately explored. The region immediately south of the railway at Glacier is known pretty thoroughly. Thanks to Mr. Palmer the Sir Sandford and Adamant ranges are now well mapped. The north branch of the Illecillewaet and its tributary valleys are also fairly familiar. But a large area, north-west, west and south-west of the Sir Sandford group, has never been surveyed. There is room here for much topographical work.

The *Canadian Alpine Journal* for 1913 contains an interesting account of ascents of peaks in the Cascade range of British Columbia, round the south end of Lake Chilco. These are visible from Bute Inlet, but the rocky wall that rises from the inlet forbids approach that way. The only feasible route to Lake Chilco is by the old Cariboo road and up the Chilcotin river. The shores of the southern end of the lake were mapped and the glaciers and streams that drain into it. The Alpine Club's expedition to Strathcona Park on Vancouver Island and the ascent of Mount Elkhorn are also chronicled.

The *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec* becomes more interesting year by year. As the only strictly geographical journal of Canada, it has an opportunity of filling an important place. It is perhaps inevitable that the geography of the province of Quebec should mainly occupy the attention of its members, but there are agreeable signs that a larger outlook is being cultivated. For instance, Mr. Benjamin Sulte's article on *Le passage de Toronto* is perhaps the most important, as it is the most scholarly article of the year. Another interesting article by Mr. Eugène Rouillard explains the origin of the geographical names in the Arctic regions of Canada. A couple of papers by Brother Victorin, on the origin of certain phenomena of physical geography occurring in Canadian territory may be mentioned as of first-rate importance. The burning question of French or English nomenclature is discussed in more than one place. The principle that a descriptive name once established in one language ought not to be translated into another seems to be generally accepted. The difficulty, however, is to determine when and by what process a name may be said to be established. Actual occupation of a territory by civilized settlers may establish a name among the resident population that will and should prevail over any name conferred by a first explorer or early traveller. The name Lake Ontario is an instance. But in the absence of a civilized resident population, without newspapers or written documents that go to establish a name, the name given by an explorer will naturally be perpetuated by maps and references in the printed narratives of later travellers. There can be no good reason for attempting to change such a name. Mr. Rouillard's *Dictionnaire des Rivières et Lacs*, which appeared first serially in the *Bulletin*, has now been issued as a volume (*vide supra*, p. 99).

V. ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

American Anthropologist, Vol. 16, Nos. 3 and 4. Pp. 375-634.

Department of Mines: Geological Survey (Canada): Anthropological Series, nos. 1-4. Ottawa. 1914.

Reports from the Anthropological Division, Geological Survey, Canada. (From the Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, for 1912, pp. 448-506.)

The *American Anthropologist* publishes a comprehensive series consisting of papers designed for presentation by the American Anthropological Association to the International Congress of Americanists which was to have been held at Washington in October, 1914, but was abandoned on account of the war. The third and fourth quarterly numbers are entirely devoted to these papers, three in each number. They relate to the Indian tribes of Canada and Mexico to an almost equal extent with those of the United States, the linguistic classification of North America into different language stocks serving as the fundamental basis for the subject matter of the series. The titles of the papers are as follows: *Primitive American History*, by John R. Swanton and Roland B. Dixon; *Areas of American Culture Characterization*, by W. H. Holmes; *Material Cultures of the North American Indians*, by Clark Wissler; *Physical Anthropology in America*, by Ales Hrdlicka; *The Present Condition of our knowledge of the North American languages*, by Pliny Earle Goddard; and *Ceremonialism in North America*, by Robert H. Lowie.

An Anthropological Series of papers published in connection with the Geological Survey of Canada has been inaugurated, and testifies to increased activity in the study of the sociology and folklore of Canadian Indians; two out of the four already issued are copiously illustrated. The names of the papers and their authors are as follows: *The Double-curve motive in north-eastern Algonkian art*, by Frank G. Speck;

Some myths and tales of the Ojibwa of south-eastern Ontario, collected by Paul Radin; *The "Inviting-in" feast of the Alaskan Eskimo*, by Ernest William Hawkes; and *Malecite Tales*, by W. H. Mechling. The preponderance of folklore and other merely linguistic exercises, however, shows some lack of solid material for these first publications of the new Canadian Anthropological Division. Eight out of ten of the papers noticed in this REVIEW and written by members of the staff were on folklore, or kindred subjects. One of the disadvantages that prevent this class of studies from attaining to a high scientific value is that the fundamental material is completely intangible. A novice of any sort can make wild statements without the slightest fear of being brought to task; there is nothing visible,—no solid substratum to serve as a check similar to the checks in the natural and physical sciences; in brief, the data do not admit of treatment by the usual methods of observation and experiment. Whatever degree of scientific value they may have is meagre in comparison with positive scientific work upon concrete, visible materials; and the folklore, or, rather, the raw material of folklore studies, in the output by the Survey, submitted to the public up to the present time, is less valuable than social and economic studies, or physical anthropology, would be.

Those who are familiar with government printing bureaus will learn without surprise that the Reports of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1912 were issued from the Ottawa printing bureau only in 1914. This however is no instance of unusual delay, as in some cases at the Washington Bureau of Ethnology, reports have seen the light only after seven or eight years. The report on *Ethnology and linguistics* is by Dr. E. Sapir, and the reports on fieldwork are as follows;—Iroquoian and Interior Salish, by C. M. Barbeau; Iroquois, by Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser and F. W. Waugh; Malecite and Micmac, by W. H. Mechling; Ojibwa (South-eastern Ontario), by Dr. P. Radin; Tahltan (Athabaskan), by J. A. Teit; Eskimo, by V. Stefánsson. There are also reports on *Archaeology*, by Harlan I. Smith; *Archaeological work in Ontario and Quebec*,

by W. J. Wintemberg; *An archaeological reconnaissance of Manitoba*, by W. B. Nickerson; *Physical anthropology*, by E. Sapir.

A. F. HUNTER

In Dr. Ganong's third paper on *Place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces*,* as in the two former ones on the same subject, there are a good study and an interpretation of Indian place-names in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The author's method is to examine a typical word in general use, then other Acadian place-names involving the same root word as that in the one first examined. Each paper has a discussion of four names with collateral words, and the completeness with which the subject is treated is evident from the fact that twenty-six pages are devoted in the present paper to the four names, Pokiok, Bocabec, Penniac, and Pentagoet. Mr. Dixon's article on *Early Migrations of Indians*† is based upon the recent literature for the New England region, although footnotes giving authorities are omitted. On the evidences derived from archaeology, language, mythology, customs and physical types, the author finds a two-fold division of Indian peoples in that area, with the New Hampshire-Maine boundary roughly dividing them, the northernmost consisting of Abenakis and Micmacs. From the miscellaneous data thus collected he deduces some theories bearing upon the difficult problem of early migrations, which, however, he leaves incomplete until more evidence can be obtained in regard to the archaeology of the middle and lower St. Lawrence valley. Accordingly the net results take the form of suggested theories rather than inductions regularly based upon evidence. The value of the article consists in the comprehensive synopsis

**An Organization of the Scientific Investigation of the Indian Place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada.* (Third Paper.) By W. F. Ganong. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third Series, vol. vii, section ii, pp. 81-106.)

†*The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces.* By Roland Burrage Dixon. (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 24, part 1, pp. 65-76.)

of what is already known regarding the area, aside from any migrations that may have taken place.

The Ontario *Archaeological Report** for 1913 which appears under the editorship of Dr. Rowland B. Orr, Superintendent of the Provincial Museum, is well illustrated with anthropological objects, mainly relics in the Museum. The report contains papers on the following subjects:—*The Attiwandarons, or Nation of the Neutrals* (editorial); *Primitive Civilization of the American Indian*, by the Very Rev. W. R. Harris; *Concerning a few well known Indian Names*, by Armon Burwash, Arnprior; *Ontario Effigy Pipes in Stone*, by Colonel George E. Laidlaw; and *Notes on New Material in the Museum*. The paper by Dean Harris relates particularly to the civilization of Central America. Colonel Laidlaw's paper on pipes is the most extensive, and its scientific value is not less than that of any other in the publication.

The *Proceedings* of the eighteenth International Congress of Americanists† is a ponderous volume of 570 pages, but only two short papers relate especially to Canada. One, "Pre-Columbian Copper in Ontario" (pp. 313-316), by Dr. Rowland B. Orr, Toronto, records particulars of the hundred specimens of copper relics in the Ontario Provincial Museum, with a plate showing five specimens. In the other paper, "Notes sur les Sauvages du Canada" (pp. 434-439), by M. Alphonse Gagnon, Quebec, the author describes the present condition of the Indian tribes of Canada, aggregating 108,261 in the year 1911, and gives statistics showing their progress.

In examining the evidence alleged to support the assertion that Joseph Brant was an hereditary chief of the Six

**Annual Archaeological Report (Ontario)*, 1913. Toronto. 1913. Pp. 96.

†*International Congress of Americanists. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Session, London, 1912.* London. 1913. Pp. 570.

Nations, Major Gordon J. Smith* incidentally gives much valuable data of a sociological nature in regard to the title and office of "Chief" and its use in various senses, but finds negative evidence alone acceptable as to the assertion itself. Joseph Brant, the investigator believes, was not a chief, but received his sole title of captain from the British government. The inquiry involved much investigation and research on the part of the author, who is superintendent of the Six Nations at Brantford, Ontario, as did also the second part of the paper, which consists of complete genealogical tables of Brant's descendants. The latter is new material, and might furnish valuable data for research in connection with studies in eugenics.

A sketch by Miss Evelyn H. C. Johnson, sister of the late Pauline Johnson, describing the life of their grandfather,† is worthy of a passing notice, as it records some ethnological facts and affords glimpses of Indian character from an Indian point of view. Besides giving some particulars of the ancestry of the well known Indian poetess, this paper gives incidentally some side lights on the work of Indian runners, the meanings of Indian names, marriage customs and ceremonies, but especially a bit of inner history regarding the "Iroquois Book of Rites", which was edited in 1883 by the late Horatio Hale.

Many tribes of Indians have a special regard for the bear in preference to all other animals. The clan stands at the head of clan lists, and already there is a large literature on bear customs. The paper by Alanson Skinner‡ embodies

**Captain Joseph Brant's Status as a Chief, and Some of his Descendants.* By Major Gordon J. Smith. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 89-101.)

†*Chief John Smoke Johnson.* By Evelyn H. C. Johnson. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 102-113.)

‡*Bear Customs of the Cree and other Algonkin Indians of Northern Ontario.* By Alanson Skinner. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 203-209.)

results of investigations made on canoe trips in 1908 down the Missanabie to James Bay, thence northeast to East Main river, and in the following year to the country of the Saulteaux and Ojibways. The author treats of the special regard of the eastern Cree for the bear, especially those bands at Moose Fort, Albany, Rupert House and East Main River Fort, and in a general way methodizes our knowledge of animal adoration.

An article by Dr. Chamberlain*, read by proxy at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Chatham, in September, 1913, appeared in the Society's annual volume shortly after the lamented death of its author. Without undertaking to give any new data, it was meant as a synopsis or introductory chapter to some other papers on the Ontario Indians prepared by various writers for the same publication. It classifies the tribes on the basis of their linguistic affinities, Dr. Chamberlain, throughout his researches on the aborigines, having given most attention to the linguistic side of anthropology. In this particular it resembles the Ontario part of his article in the *Handbook of Canada* issued for the use of the British Association in 1897, and may be described as an extension and rearrangement of the latter article in so far as it refers to Ontario. In the same number of the Society's publications, there is a brief appreciation of the late Dr. Chamberlain's life and works. Other memorial articles of similar import have appeared in the following periodicals: *Science*, n.s., vol. xxxix, pp. 821-2 (June 5, 1914), by C. W.; the *University Monthly* (Toronto), vol. xv, pp. 393-4 (June, 1914), by Professor J. Squair; *American Anthropologist*, vol. 16, pp. 337-375 (April-June, 1914), by Albert N. Gilbertson; the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xxvii, pp. 326-7 (July-September, 1914), by Dr. Franz Boas.

**Tribal Divisions of the Indians of Ontario*. By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, 1914, pp. 199-202.)

In the course of an article on Zeisberger,* the author notes many points of interest in regard to the founding of the settlement of the Moravian Delawares on the Thames River in 1792, and their material progress from the outset. He gives also a copy of McNiff's contemporary map (1793) of the settlement.

Dr. Radin discusses Ojibwa religion.† The field to which the data belong is described as south-eastern Ontario, and is defined more clearly in other articles by the same writer issued during the year. In the course of the paper the author gives two puberty fasting experiences, which form the main features of the article. The same author has a paper‡ based on notes made among the Ojibwa of eastern and south-eastern Ontario in 1912, which is a scientific generalization of five fasting experiences.

Mr. J. B. Tyrrell has a paper** in the Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute which treats of some 350 Indian names of places in Manitoba and the District of Patricia, Ontario, and gives their interpretations. Mr. Percy J. Robinson also contributes to the same publication a two-page article on ten Indian place-names*† connected with the south-east portion of Georgian Bay. It consists mainly of quotations from existing literature, with occasional comments by the author. Owing to the fact that many Indian names which have been in use amongst white people for several generations have meanings that have become elusive and problematical, the material of this article is encyclopaedic rather

**David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians*. By the Rev. John Morrison. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 176-198).

†*An Introductory Enquiry in the Study of Ojibwa Religion*. By Paul Radin. (Ontario Historical Society; Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 210-218.)

‡*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa*. By Paul Radin. (Victoria Memorial Museum Bulletin no. 2, pp. 69-78. Ottawa. 1914.)

***Indian Place-names in Manitoba and Ontario*. By J. B. Tyrrell. (Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, vol. x, part 2).

*†*On the derivation of certain place-names in the Georgian Bay*. By Percy J. Robinson. (Ibid., vol. xi).

than critical, some comparisons with other names being added to elucidate the subject.

Mr. Barbeau's article* is based on fieldwork in the Wyandot Reservation, Oklahoma, and at Amherstburg, Ontario, during the year 1912. Numerous footnotes serve for purposes of comparison with the results of former investigators, and widen the range of the article itself.

Papers by Clark Wissler† and Alanson Skinner‡ are good examples of recent studies of the tribes of the Great Plains, the investigations of the present day taking a course along more scientific lines than those of a decade ago. The Plains afford a profitable field and the workers are still few.

In a paper read at the Chatham meeting of the Ontario Historical Society in September, 1913,** the Indians were considered from a somewhat novel point of view. The writer, Dr. P. H. Bryce, seems to hold that it is time to consider the Indian as an economic and social possibility in Canada, and that we should get over the unscientific idea of regarding him as a different being from other human beings and face the possibility of his becoming an every-day member of society such as the 400,000 immigrants to Canada in 1913 were expected to become. The article deals with the health conditions of Indians generally, but especially with a colony on the File Hills Reserve, Saskatchewan, where the author carried out detailed observations and collected statistics. In this colony he finds convincing evidence, in view of the fact that tuberculosis is not hereditary, of Indian ability to grow into strong men and women when attention

**Supernatural Beings of the Huron and Wyandot.* By C. M. Barbeau. (American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. xvi, no. 2, pp. 288-313.)

†*The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture.* By Clark Wissler. (American Anthropologist, vol. xvi, no. 1, pp. 1-25.)

‡*Notes on the Plains Cree. The Cultural Position of the Plains Ojibway.* By Alanson Skinner. (American Anthropologist, vol. xvi, no. 1, pp. 68-87, 314-318.)

***The History of the American Indians in Relation to Health.* By Peter H. Bryce. (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol. xii, pp. 128-141.)

is given to the ordinary rules of health as these are understood and practised at the present day. This is the notable feature of the article, and is refreshing since so many writers have made us familiar with "the passing of the Indian".

An illustrated address delivered to the Royal Canadian Institute in Toronto on January 10, 1914, gave in substance the facts contained in a pamphlet by the Rev. C. E. Whittaker on *The Eskimo Mission of the Mackenzie*.^{*} The social and material progress of the Eskimos at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson under Christian instruction is the salient feature of the publication, Mr. Whittaker's views of their progress differing materially from those of Mr. Stefánsson as published in an article in *Harper's Magazine*. When Mr. Whittaker first became acquainted with those Eskimo bands, they practised polygamy, used labrets, pilfered, submitted to medicine men and had other earmarks of paganism, but they have now adopted Christian virtues, in the practice of which they have shown themselves fairly proficient. In periodical literature various articles[†] on the Eskimo appear from time to time, showing an increasing popular interest in their life and conditions, due largely to the efforts of living Anglican missionaries. The Rev. E. J. Peck,[‡] who resided for upward of thirty years amongst the Eskimos of the Hudson Bay shore of Labrador and of Baffin Land, speaks with full knowledge of the subject. Mr. Stefánsson^{**} describes the trade operations of some sixteen tribes or bands whom he visited and interviewed, adding quotations from existing literature to complete the Eskimo group. A map of Eskimo trade routes is given.

^{*}*The Eskimo Mission of the Mackenzie*. By the Rev. C. E. Whittaker. Toronto, 1914. Pp. 20.

[†]*Eskimos as Aboriginal Inventors*. By A. L. Kroeber. (*Scientific American*, vol. 110, p. 54.)

Sanitary Conditions among the Eskimos. (*Survey*, July 18, vol. 32, p. 416.)

[‡]*Eskimos of the Frozen North*. By Rev. E. J. Peck. (*Missionary Review*, vol. 37, pp. 487-96.)

^{**}*Prehistoric and Present Commerce among the Arctic Coast Eskimo*. By V. Stefánsson. (Museum Bulletin No. 6, Canad. Geol. Survey, Anthropological Series, No. 3.)

The name given to the modern tribes living in the southern part of the interior of British Columbia is the Thompson River Indians, or simply Thompson Indians, but the anthropologists know them as the Ntlakyapamuk, who form an important division of the Salish-speaking tribes, the Shuswaps of the same division living higher up the Thompson. In his paper on the collection of archaeological material from that region* Mr. Harlan Smith concludes that the earliest people living in the Thompson River valley had the same customs and arts as those found there by the first white men. Illustrations, consisting of sixteen plates and three figures, show the tools, weapons, etc., in the collection now in the Ottawa Museum.

In the volume of the Royal Society of Canada for 1913, issued in 1914, an article by Dr. Sapir† describes a puberty ceremony of the Nootka Indians of the west coast of Vancouver Island, witnessed October 16, 1910, in the "potlach house", near Alberni, B.C. The details of the ritual are described with considerable minuteness, and the author gives some brief descriptions of the seclusion of the girl and the taboos formerly observed, "but now only laxly, if at all, attended to". The persistence, amongst the tribes of the Pacific coast, of the potlach, or distribution of gifts, notwithstanding the measures of government Indian agents to discourage them, would lead one to infer that its place in their sociology is fundamental, almost suggesting early Chinese influence.

The native cultures of the islands of the northwest Pacific coast have furnished the subject matter of a valuable paper by Mr. Emmons on *Portraiture among the North*

**The Archaeological Collection from the Southern Interior of British Columbia, Museum of the Geological Survey, Canada.* By Harlan I. Smith. Ottawa, 1913. Pp. 40.

†*A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians.* By Edward Sapir. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, section ii, pp. 67-80).

*Pacific Coast tribes** which relates chiefly to the Haidas and Chilkats.

A paper by Mr. Trimble† deals with the Indians of the States of Oregon and Washington, and of British Columbia, after the mining "rushes" of 1858, and during the following decade. The author takes up consecutively the sociological condition of the Indians under United States rule and under British rule, inclining to the view that their conditions under the latter were better ordered than under the former through lack of summary powers on the part of officials.

**Portraiture Among the North Pacific Coast Tribes*. By George T. Emmons. (American Anthropologist, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 59-67.)

†*American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest*. By W. J. Trimble. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. v, no. 1, pp. 32-54.)

**VI. EDUCATION, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, LAW,
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

McCaul, Croft, Forneri, personalities of early University days. By John King. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1914. Pp. 256.

In a short prefatory note Mr. King tells us that these biographical sketches were written primarily for an undergraduate constituency, and were published originally in the early numbers of The 'Varsity newspaper. Having received many requests for copies of the sketches, he was persuaded to republish them in their present form. In doing so he has deserved well of the graduates and friends of the University of Toronto, in the early development of which the men whose lives and character are here sketched played a not unimportant part.

Of the three, Dr. McCaul, the first President of University College, properly takes the first place. To the generations of University men who lived before 1880, the name of Dr. McCaul had a meaning which we of these days can hardly realize. His strong but kindly face, framed in carefully trimmed white whiskers, his firm but humorous mouth and chin, and keen but friendly eyes, his dress, that of a clerical don of the old school, together with his red silk handkerchief and snuff box, combined to make up a figure which was the beau ideal of old world dignity and courtesy. His importance both in the University and before the public was impressive. To both town and gown "he was the University". Only those who have lived long enough to see his students grow up to become prominent figures in their own generation can judge to what an extent the best of them took their tone from him and how fortunate it was for the young University that the tone was set so high. He had the great advantage of having been Principal of Upper Canada College before he had been called to be President of King's College.

Thus the young men who formed the first freshman year were under his charge both before and after their matriculation, a fact which gave to him a peculiar influence over them. The chevrons on the sleeves of their gowns were adopted from the arms of Clare Hall, of which college Dr. Harris, Dr. McCaul's predecessor, had been a fellow. But McCaul's influence went far deeper: the gown was a Cambridge gown, but the voice was the voice of Dublin.

The Rev. John McCaul was born in Ireland in 1807. In 1824 he matriculated in Trinity College, Dublin, where he distinguished himself both in classics and mathematics, winning prizes and scholarships in both subjects, graduating with the University gold medal in classics, and afterwards winning the Berkeley gold medal for proficiency in Greek. After taking his master's degree in 1828, he was appointed University Examiner in Greek. He remained in Dublin for ten years, engaged in tuition and classical studies. During these years he published lectures on Homer, on Virgil, and on the Dublin University classical course, as well as editions of Longinus, Thucydides, and the Satires and Epistles of Horace. He was admitted to holy orders as deacon in 1831, and to the priesthood in 1833; and in 1835 the University conferred upon him the degrees of LL.B. and LL.D.

In 1838 McCaul was appointed Principal of Upper Canada College and assumed office in 1839. In 1842 he became Vice-president and Pro-Vice-chancellor of the University of King's College, as well as Professor of Classical Literature, Logic, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. But changes were imminent. In 1843 the Hon. Robert Baldwin introduced a bill establishing a provincial university, to be styled the University of Toronto, to which the powers and endowments of King's College were to be transferred. With it were to be incorporated three other colleges, Regiopolis, Queen's, and Victoria, whose university powers would be abrogated, each of them receiving for four years an annual grant of £500 from the endowment. After four years they were to be supported from the Clergy Reserves. The bill was vigorously opposed by the Bishop of Toronto, Dr.

Strachan, and by the College Council, who stood out for the Charter of 1827, giving control of the University to the Church of England. Nevertheless, the bill would probably have passed but for a quarrel between the ministers and the governor as to the meaning of responsible government. Mr. Baldwin resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Draper, who introduced a new bill to establish a provincial university, this time under the name of the University of Upper Canada. It provided for permanent grants to the colleges out of the university endowment. In the controversy over this bill Dr. McCaul warmly supported the bishop in opposing the project and defending the right of King's College to both charter and endowment. This bill also failed to become law.

In 1847 Mr. John A. Macdonald introduced a new bill proposing by way of compromise the partition of the endowment among the four colleges. The passage of this bill would doubtless have postponed to the far future the possibility of creating a university worthy of the province. That it did not pass is owing to Dr. McCaul. The bishop had at first assented to it, but Dr. McCaul led the College Council in opposition and persuaded the bishop to withdraw his assent, with the result that the bill was lost.

When Mr. Baldwin returned to power at the next election he introduced the bill of 1849, entirely secularizing the university and placing it upon the footing on which, with a few minor alterations, it stood until the Federation Act of 1887. This bill was strongly opposed by the Church of England, and also by the Presbyterians, and it received but lukewarm support from the Methodists and Roman Catholics. Within the walls of King's College there was not unanimity on this occasion. The Council was divided against itself, Dr. McCaul, now President, and Dr. Beaven, Professor of Divinity, bitterly opposing the bill; while Professors Croft, Gwynne and Potter were enthusiastic in its support. In the absence of the two other members of the Council, Professors Croft, Potter and Gwynne carried a petition in favour of the bill, which became law in 1849.

Of the University of Toronto thus created Dr. McCaul became the first President. In spite of his original opposition he remained loyal to the new institution for the rest of his life and staunchly defended it against all comers. In 1853 the teaching functions of the University were abolished and transferred to a new corporation, University College, of which Dr. McCaul became President, retaining office until his retirement from active life in 1880.

To McCaul and Croft then we largely owe it that the University of Toronto is what we see it to-day. McCaul prevented the passage of the Partition Bill of John A. Macdonald, and Croft had much to do with the passage of the Baldwin Bill.

Henry Holmes Croft was born in 1820 in London. His father was William Croft, Deputy Paymaster-General of Ordnance. His early chemical studies were pursued at University College, London, and on the advice of Faraday, at that time lecturer on chemistry at Woolwich, he went to Berlin with letters of introduction from Faraday to Mitscherlich. In Mitscherlich's laboratory he pursued the study of chemistry with zeal and success. In December, 1842, he was appointed to the chair of Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy in King's College, Toronto. He retained the chair of Chemistry in the University of Toronto and in University College until his retirement on the score of failing health in 1879.

In the controversy concerning the constitution of the university Croft took, as has been already mentioned, an active part on the popular side as an enthusiastic university reformer. When the new university was constituted he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. and took his seat in the Senate as the first vice-chancellor. While his health lasted he was constant in devotion to his various duties. He was a skilful experimenter, and a lucid and interesting lecturer, and he was well read in the literature of his science. He was one of the founders of the Canadian Institute, of which he was twice president and whose *Journal* contains many of his contributions to science. Croft was best known

as a toxicologist. In this branch of his profession he was unsurpassed. His clear intelligence, wide knowledge, careful attention to details, and absolute devotion to truth, were shown equally in the laboratory and in the witness box.

When a volunteer corps was formed among the students in 1861, Professor Croft was appointed its captain. The corps became a company of the Queen's Own Rifles; and Captain Croft was one of the most efficient as well as one of the most popular officers in that regiment, in which he attained to the rank of major. Mr. King well sums up Professor Croft's character as follows:

"In nothing was his career more marked than in the power which he possessed of interesting others. He felt and showed an appreciative interest in every department of physical and natural science. His wide and generous sympathies gained for him the affection and respect of fellow-students and fellow-workers in all branches of science. His time and his knowledge were always at the disposal of all who needed them. The motto of the Croft family, *Esse quam videri*, was largely expressive of his sterling honesty and uprightness and transparent love of truth."

Croft died in 1883 at Las Hermanitas near San Diego, Texas, whither he had removed on account of his wife's health.

In accordance with a happy suggestion of Mr. King the University has decided that the circular annex at the west end of the main building, which was designed and built for a chemical laboratory and used as such by Croft, shall be hereafter known as the Croft Chapter House. It will thus stand as a memorial of the first Vice-chancellor of the University.

The two first names in Mr. King's book fill an important place in the history of education in Canada. In their day the men stood forth as champions respectively of the old and of the new, alike in learning and in politics, and it is fitting on this account that the story of their lives and deeds should be recorded. The third of the trio, Forneri, played no such leading part. But in romantic interest the lives of McCaul and Croft had nothing to compare with his. That earlier life, however, was lived far away from Canada, on whose shores he never set foot until 1853, when he was appointed Professor of Modern Languages in University College, at the

age of sixty-four. This office he filled for thirteen years. On his retirement the chair of Modern Languages was abolished and lecturers in French, German, and Italian and Spanish were appointed to do the work which Forneri had undertaken single-handed. The story of his adventurous early life as a lieutenant in Bonaparte's Imperial Guard, then as a member of the Carbonari, then as captain in the Spanish Constitutional Army, including as it does tales of battle and exile, of capture by Cossacks, and of adventures with Amazons, will well repay perusal in Mr. King's interesting pages; but being entirely unconnected with the history of education in Canada need not be dwelt upon here.

Mr. King may be congratulated on the success of his effort to recall and preserve the memory of these three interesting personalities of early University days.

W. H. ELLIS

The Abbé Gosselin's paper on *Louis Labadie** is a contribution to the history of education in French Canada during the first half century of British rule. Labadie was one of those French-Canadian school-teachers who, relying on private resources or assistance from private persons, attempted to supply his compatriots with the education which the British government made no movement to assist. Labadie, owing to his loyal attitude toward British rule, was named by his contemporaries the "*Maître d'Ecole patriotique*". He was something of a poet; and the Abbé Gosselin reprints a number of his poems. A French version of "God Save the King" is especially striking. The paper, however, interesting as it is, does not contain much of importance.

**Louis Labadie, ou le Maître d'Ecole patriotique*. Par l'Abbé Amédée Gosselin. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. vii, sect. i, pp. 97-123.)

Rural Schools in Canada, their organization, administration and supervision. By James Collins Miller. (Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, no. 61.) New York. 1913. Pp. xii, 236.

Those who live in urban centres are prone to forget that Canada is still an agricultural country, and that her typical school is still the rural school. Dr. Miller's book deals, therefore, with a bigger topic than its title first suggests. It presents a comprehensive survey of Canadian education, and gives, in compendious form, information that is scattered in a whole library of books and pamphlets. Some sixty to seventy per cent. of Canadian schools are rural schools, and from fifty to sixty per cent. of her school population are being educated in them. The future welfare of Canada is indissolubly bound up with her country schools. Hence a serious study, such as Dr. Miller has undertaken, should be welcomed by all.

The picture, as Dr. Miller paints it, is in a dull key. Greys and blacks are the prevailing tones, with a few welcome high lights dotted about here and there. The sovereignty of the provinces in educational matters does not seem to be an unmixed blessing. Manitoba and Quebec have no compulsory attendance laws, while in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia attendance at school is a question of "local option". Rural schools are badly equipped, badly staffed and badly attended. More than half the teachers in rural schools have third-class qualifications or worse. About thirty per cent. of Canadian children attend school less than fifty days in the year. An unknown, though large, number receive no education at all, while 13,000 in Alberta and Nova Scotia attend schools which are open for only twenty days in the year. In most provinces there are fixed, inflexible curricula for all schools. Both teachers and inspectors complain of the impossibility of adapting the curriculum to suit the local needs, either because of the rigidity of the law, or the imperfect equipment and training of the teacher.

Dr. Miller gives us many useful facts, but comparatively few criticisms or suggestions. We gather, however, that his remedies are (1) better salaries for the rural school teacher (at present the rural school teacher's salary lies between that of a skilled and an unskilled worker); (2) a more flexible curriculum with a definite rural bias; and (3) the consolidation of rural schools. The latter measure seems to have been a brilliant success wherever tried, with the single exception of Ontario.

There is a valuable bibliography, but no index. One or two typographical errors have been overlooked. Findlay is mis-spelled on page 184, Plunkett on page 229. "Appendix X" (p. 97) should be Appendix C. The study is a careful and excellent piece of work. We hope, with the author, that it will be followed by many others of a less extensive and more intensive kind.

PETER SANDIFORD

The preface of this second edition of Mr. Sutherland's unpretentious pamphlet on *Canadian Rural Education** refers modestly to the recent progress in the rural schools of Protestant Quebec. The appendix speaks in some detail of the new schemes for the training of the teachers of those schools. The major portion of the pamphlet is a very readable but hurried study of the conditions and needs of the rural schools of Canada in general. New purposes in public education have resulted, in Canada, as elsewhere, in charges of "overloading" and "lack of thoroughness". In a sketch, very brief and not obviously pertinent, of early Canadian schools, the author reaches the conclusion that good rural schools before 1840 were probably more thorough than the rural schools of to-day. Population, wealth, leadership, good schools, and good male teachers have begun to abandon the countryside. If the rural school is to be saved it must accept a new aim and a new method. The new aim should be a practical one—agricultural education—and the new method

**Canadian Rural Education: A Social Study.* By J. C. Sutherland. Quebec, 1913. Pp. 48.

should be the scientific method. This scientific method the author defines in a generous way as thoroughness in the ordinary subjects of the present curricula or of the present curricula expanded, and in the elementary principles of modern science. But the new aim and the new method cannot be housed in the isolated one-room school. They must be housed in the consolidated school. In consolidation, the author effectively argues, lies the hope of social and economic progress in rural districts.

The sixty groups or circles of the Association Catholique spent a year preparing reports on the school system in the province of Quebec. These reports were presented to a congress held at Three Rivers, and are reprinted in a volume.* They contain some interesting information as to the present position of the primary schools, and offer suggestions for their improvement. The well-known passage in Sir Lomer Gouin's speech on compulsory attendance is quoted with approval, as showing that the average attendance is much higher in Quebec than in the other provinces of Canada. A brief review is given of educational systems in other provinces, but it is too slight to be of value. It emphasizes, however, the obligation under which the Association feels itself of maintaining the French language in the schools outside Quebec. The reports do not deal with the colleges and universities of the province.

Professor Archibald MacMechan pleasantly describes, under a transparent disguise, the origin and fortunes of Dalhousie College†. Former students of that institution will be able to say whether the sketch of "the old professor of mathematics" is from the life or imaginative. In the same volume the author reprints his article *Evangeline and the Real Acadians* which was reviewed in our Volume XII when

**Etude Critique de notre Système Scolaire*. L'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne Française. Congrès des Trois-Rivières, les 28, 29, 30 Juin et 1er Juillet, 1913. Montreal. 1913. Pp. vi, 188.

†*The Life of a Little College, and other papers*. By Archibald MacMechan. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1914. Pp. 308.

it first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The other essays are purely literary.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions. By One Hundred Associates. Adam Shortt, Arthur G. Doughty, General Editors. Section VI (Vols. xi and xii). *Missions, Arts and Letters.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company. 1914. Pp. xii, x, 675.

These two volumes of *Canada and its Provinces* suffer in a measure from their subjects. The latter deals with the arts and letters of the country, a theme which in a young, industrial community is likely to be little more than a pious hope for the future. The other volume dealing with the Churches treats of a department of life which has played a great and noble rôle in Canadian history, but which has introduced the attendant evil of sectarianism, and it is perhaps natural that denominational divisions should be symbolized by the structure of the book.

Volume xi is divided into short histories of the development in Canada of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches, after which, in the manner of the famous sergeant-major at church parade, "fancy religions fall in be'ind" in a chapter on "Miscellaneous Religious Bodies", which is made to include Congregationalists and Doukhobors. In the study of the early Churches in Canada one can find fascinating reading; the lives of Christian missionaries are woven into the fabric of the country's history. And yet it must be admitted that the chapters of this volume are a trifle dull. Of course there are no problems more worthy of the study of a critical historian than the relation of church politics to a new community. The secret of one Church's failure and another's success; the work of such figures as the Methodist circuit-rider or of the Jesuit Father in early Canada; Calvinism in a new country and the type it produces—these are some of the subjects one would like to see discussed. But instead we are given a prosaic chronicle of the formation of

rural-deaneries and the establishment of presbyteries and other matters which are no doubt a source of perpetual excitement for the ecclesiastical historian; but then the ecclesiastical historian is the modern type of the monkish chronicler and, be it remembered, the monkish chronicler was concerned not with history but with bare facts.

Again in a volume thus planned there is too apt to be an element of special pleading in the articles. It is always tempting to cry one's wares. Perhaps Dr. Gordon's introductory praise of Calvinism might be regarded as irrelevant to a dispassionate account of Presbyterianism in Canada.

In the volume on arts and letters in Canada we find a wholesome relief from the annalist's manner in Professor Milner's admirable article on "The Higher National Life". It is a pity that more of the volume could not be written in the spirit of sympathetic criticism which pervades this sketch. It is not the enthusiast, gathering a few isolated novelists and poets into a catalogue to proclaim a "Canadian literature", who can aid the cause of art in Canada. Discriminating criticism is what is needed. This is a flagrant platitude, but a platitude which strikes with perennial novelty on the ears of many.

The articles on Canadian painting and sculpture, and on music and the theatre, provide a full account of the achievements in these arts. Music and, to a lesser extent, painting appeal to a new community before an intelligent interest in literature can be aroused. In the larger cities musical performances are now subjected to intelligent criticism and the standard of performance is reasonably high. Art exhibitions also reflect credit on public taste in Canada. Canadian men of letters, however, are deprived in their own country of anything which might be called criticism. Very frequently a writer of great promise is allowed to decay simply for the lack of guidance which ought to be supplied by the press. It is perhaps not unfair to say that Mr. Marquis in his sketch of English-Canadian literature has been too lavish in the very sort of too kindly praise which is partly responsible for the mediocrity of so much of Canadian literary production.

Canada can boast of a few writers of genuine merit like Archibald Lampman or, in a vastly different sphere, Stephen Leacock. But there are also a great number who in a literary catalogue should be described simply as "successful". It is natural that the latter should be "best-sellers", but it is not fitting that authoritative criticism should fail to discriminate between these and better work.

It may of course be objected that it is unfair to subject two such volumes as these to detailed criticism. A broader treatment of their subjects was doubtless impossible. And if it was the editors' intention to give us in volume xi a series of ecclesiastical chronicles and in volume xii a set of catalogues they have undoubtedly succeeded in providing most exhaustive catalogues, and most accurate chronicles.

C. V. MASSEY

L'Eglise au Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête. Troisième partie: Mgr. de Pontbriand.
Par Abbé Auguste Gosselin. Quebec: Laflamme & Proulx. 1914. Pp. xii, 605.

Henri-Marie du Breil de Pontbriand, sixth bishop of Quebec, was appointed to the bishopric in 1741 and died in 1760. Like his predecessors and his biographer he abhorred Jansenists; before coming to Canada he helped purge the diocese of Saint-Malo of their erroneous beliefs. Years later, in surveying his diocese in the new world, he rejoiced that it was free of this teaching. The bishop displayed both heroism and piety in his cure. At the same time he was refreshingly human. To a brother in France he wrote that he was acting as a Jack-of-all-trades at Three Rivers, where he was overseer of fifty workmen who were rebuilding a house for the Ursulines. "I am very weary, I rise usually at two o'clock for my devotions and to plan out the day's work in the yards. . . . The job bores me" (p. 190). Fear and boredom were mastered by consuming zeal. "The certainty of acquiring millions on my arrival in Quebec could not induce me to sail, so great is my loathing of the sea. But the glory of God and the saving of souls,—when these are the stakes no

power on earth shall hold me back" (p. 12). He went out from France never to return. Eleven years later in a letter to one of his sisters he begged her not to tempt him to turn his face homewards. "In persuading you, I shall persuade myself that weariness and hardship are never sufficient reason for a bishop to desert his flock" (p. 309). He longed to see France again, but he identified himself with Canada and was beloved of the Canadians.

His activities were both ceaseless and varied. He followed the example of his predecessors in visiting all parts of his huge diocese, sometimes walking knee deep in water, sometimes overtaken by a blizzard and forced to seek shelter in the poorest of dwellings. When he arrived in a village there was no rest. Frequent masses, confirmations, sermons and addresses four or five times a day occupied his time. Any spare minutes were devoted to the settlement of local quarrels and feuds.

He inspected the religious houses, kept the cathedral chapter in order, was in close communication with the civil government but also ever ready to guard the privileges of the Church. In 1742 he sat on the Council with the governor and the intendant to consider the regulation of the price of corn and issued a decree condemning the "odious cupidity" of those who raised prices. He kept a watchful eye on new colonists and complained to France of the undesirable immigrants who burdened the colony; he was as anxious to support the unfortunate as he was to remove the undesirables; he advocated the building of churches and chief of these, the cathedral in Quebec. His was a life full of the most arduous and varied activity. Of popular education he was only a moderate supporter. He was anxious to keep the habitants on the land and thought that education encouraged change. Girls became affected and wanted to live in towns and looked down on their former state. He advised that children should be content with the religious instruction given by the curé and should imbibe no principles which might lead them from the ways of their fathers.

This bishop was a just man, not a blind supporter of ecclesiastical power at the expense of justice. Having heard complaints against a certain missionary priest he became convinced of their validity and sentenced the offender. A battle royal was waged between the Seminary and the Chapter of Quebec over the curé and the revenues. It was said that Pontbriand by his influence at Court could have had the case decided, but he insisted on a thorough examination of documents to see where right lay. At the same time he was not slow to assert his prerogative. He insisted on his right of forming new parishes; only twice did he renounce his project on representation from the Court.

The relations of Pontbriand with the secular power were not so strained as had been those of some of his predecessors. This may have been in part due to the fact that famine and war united the ecclesiastical and secular powers in one common misfortune. Add to this that Pontbriand seems to have been tactful as well as firm; also that the lines had been laid down for him by his predecessors and that of him was required an administrative rather than a constructive genius. He died in the interval between the fall of Quebec in 1759 and that of Montreal in 1760.

This third part of *L'Eglise au Canada* is pleasant reading, as were its predecessors. A classified index and ample footnotes on the authorities make a useful addition. For purposes of reference it would be more satisfactory if the original authorities were always cited instead of the previous writings of the author where they have been quoted. To any student of present-day conditions in Quebec, this history of the Church is very instructive, for now as then ecclesiastical authority is paramount and paternal.

The curé at the village of Baie Saint-Paul seems to have held over the village the fear of chastisement from Heaven if it granted a license, and Redemptorists preaching a retreat are said to have threatened a refusal of absolution and the sacraments to those who should vote against the prohibition enactment. The vote which carried the enactment was

quashed on the ground of undue clerical influence, and the judge gave as his judgement that "the clergy are permitted, like any one else, to employ with the electors all legitimate means such as remonstrances, proofs of disorders, and anathemas against drunkards and drunkenness. They can hold retreats, bring in eloquent speakers who warmly uphold their claims, but there the power of the priest or of any other citizen ceases. He is not allowed to use his authority over the faithful to condemn under ban of mortal sin, to threaten with refusal of absolution, and to put these threats into effect in the confessional". *L'Action Sociale*, in a publication entitled *Singulier Jugement**, protests that this verdict is an abuse of the lay power; that the question was a moral one, and that the clergy have a right to influence their people in the field of morals. The judge contended that the issue before him was not whether the license which existed at Baie Saint-Paul was illegal and immoral, but whether the enactment prohibiting a license authorized by law was valid or not. The ecclesiastical point of view is very clearly stated by *L'Action Sociale*, and the pamphlet deserves study by all those interested in examining contemporary conflicts between the old antagonists, the church and the state.

The Senate of Canada, its Constitution, Powers and Duties historically considered. By Sir George Ross. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company. 1914. Pp. xvi, 124.

Sir George Ross's book on *The Senate of Canada* must have been completed only a short time before his death in 1914. The book owes its origin, no doubt, to the differences between the Senate and the House of Commons in respect to the bill for naval aid to Great Britain. In eight chapters the author, who was himself the Liberal leader in the Senate, explains the evolution of that body, its authority, obligations, and duties, its relation to the House of Commons and to public opinion, and the constitutional means by

**Singulier Jugement: Un Règlement Municipal annulé pour Consideration d'Influence indue Cléricale.* Quebec: L'Action Sociale. 1913. Pp. viii, 81.

which its character can be altered. Sir George Ross sat first in the House of Commons, but he became a keen supporter of the rights of the Senate. To learn the ideas of those who helped to create the Senate he read carefully the public utterances of the leaders who shaped the British North America Act and quotes from them extensively, indeed rather tediously.

According to Sir George Ross, one of the chief functions of the Senate is to be the guardian of provincial rights. The British North America Act is, he says, a treaty which can be altered only by consent of all those who are a party to it: "the first and only duty of the Senate is to consider the Treaty rights of all the Provinces under the Constitution" (p. 51). That the Senate has the right to oppose the House of Commons goes without saying. Sir George Ross quotes Sir John Macdonald:

"It would be of no value whatever if it were a mere Chamber for registering the decrees of the Lower House. It must be an independent House, having a free action of its own, for it is only valuable as being a regulating body, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch, and preventing any hasty or ill-considered legislation which may have come from that body, but which will never set itself in opposition to the deliberate and understood wishes of the people" (p. 54).

This means that the Senate may oppose the House of Commons, but not the people. Sir George Ross gives a list of the occasions on which the Senate has rejected the measures of the House of Commons, and he argues that in every case the action of the Senate has been vindicated by the people: "On no occasion has the Senate been overruled by the electors, although it has often overruled the opinion of the House of Commons" (p. 82). It is an odd fact that the moderate provision made by the British North America Act for overcoming a deadlock between the two chambers has never been used. The provision is that six senators may be appointed by the crown to overcome in the public interest a deadlock. An attempt was made in 1873 to act upon the provision, but since then it has been practically lost sight of. The truth is that the provision is so inadequate as to be useless. A change of three senators from one side to the other would effect the same purpose and governments have

wisely waited for the natural change instead of using this now forgotten provision. In truth the two Houses have worked together on the whole with a considerable degree of harmony and there have not been half a dozen cases of division on questions of serious importance.

Sir George Ross considers that the present constitution of the Senate is on the whole the best possible:

"Rightly chosen in the true spirit of responsible government, a nominative Senate could be made the strongest bulwark of the Constitution, and the most impartial guardian of true democracy. It would have none of the hereditary weakness of the House of Lords, nor the partisanship of an Elective Chamber. There would be no limit to the qualifications of its Members, except the attainments of the people from whose ranks they are drawn" (p. 100).

If this view is a little optimistic it is still true that no plan conspicuously better than that of nomination has yet been proposed and careful observers do not expect an early change in the Canadian Senate. The Senators are usually elderly men, and Time and the great Reaper quickly redress the balance against the party in a majority in the House of Commons. To change the character of the Senate would be a formidable task, according to Sir George Ross. He names three cardinal conditions:

"1. Before Parliament could entertain any proposal for Senate Reform, except as an academic one, the consent of all the Provinces should be obtained for the change which it was proposed to make. 2. The approval of both Houses of Parliament. 3. The ratification by the Imperial Parliament" (p. 118).

Probably he presses the doctrine of the treaty rights of the provinces a little too far. It might be fairly claimed that these rights affect the number of representatives from each province in the Senate rather than the mode of appointment to that body. This, however, is a matter still open for discussion.

Professor Lefroy's *Leading Cases in Canadian Constitutional Law** requires little more than a mere mention. It is a sort of appendix to his *Canada's Federal System*, reviewed by us last year, and aims to present "a complete collection of leading decisions under that part of the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada which is comprised in

**Leading Cases in Canadian Constitutional Law*. By A. H. F. Lefroy. Toronto: The Carswell Company. 1914. Pp. xxi, 112.

the British North America Act". There has long been a need for a book which would do for the student of Canadian constitutional law what Mr. Ernest C. Thomas's well-known collection of cases has done for students of English constitutional law; and Professor Lefroy's book admirably supplies the need. Not only are the cases briefly annotated, but there is also a short introduction in which the principles established by the cases cited are clearly expounded. To the Canadian law-student, and to the student of Canadian constitutional development, the book will be a boon.

Practice of the Court of Common Pleas of the District of Hesse. By the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third Series, vol. vii, section 2, pp. 43-56).

The Jury System in Ontario. By the Hon. William Renwick Riddell. (Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the New York State Bar Association, New York, January 30, 1914.) Pp. 26.

In the old province of Quebec prior to 1792 there existed various local courts of common pleas exercising civil jurisdiction within their respective districts. In 1788 four of these districts had been created for judicial purposes in the western part of the province, the most westerly being the district of Hesse, which then included Detroit and some other frontier posts not yet handed over to the United States. It is perhaps not so well known that after the erection of Upper Canada the courts of the districts comprised within that province continued in the exercise of their functions until the creation in 1794 of the Court of King's Bench. By the statute establishing the last mentioned court the records of the old courts were directed to be transferred to the King's Bench, but it is believed that not many of these records are now extant. Mr. Justice Riddell mentions two manuscript volumes (now in the Ontario Archives) of the records of the Court of Common Pleas for the district of Hesse covering the period from August 11, 1791, to January 26, 1792. His researches at Osgoode Hall have also dis-

closed some earlier records of the same court, covering the periods from July 16 to September 24, 1789, and from May 19 to August 4, 1791.

The learned investigator has rendered a distinct service to the legal history of the province in publishing a summary of the records unearthed by him, to which he has added some interesting notes and biographical information. Several of the cases are quoted verbatim from the records and many others are very fully stated. They afford entertaining reading, and cast much light upon the practice of the earliest court of civil jurisdiction in the province of Upper Canada.

An interesting connecting link between the Court of Common Pleas for the district of Hesse and the later Court of King's Bench is the fact that William Dummer Powell, who was the first judge of the former court, was later the first puisne judge of the latter court and ultimately became chief justice of the province.

The second pamphlet contains a brief history of the Ontario legislation and practice in regard to juries, followed by an exposition of the present system, written primarily for the edification of American lawyers, but also providing food for thought even for a member of the Ontario bar who is to some extent familiar with the subject.

JOHN D. FALCONBRIDGE

In 1909 the Municipal Library of Montreal bought from Mr. Philéas Gagnon his fine collection of Canadiana, amounting to about 7,000 volumes. Mr. Gagnon had first made known to the world the wealth of his collection by publishing a catalogue of it in 1895 under the title *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*. During the next fifteen years he did not cease to add to his collection, and the second volume of the *Essai*,* now published by the librarian of the Municipal Library of Montreal, is Mr. Gagnon's own cata-

**Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*. Par Philéas Gagnon. Tome II: *Inventaire d'une bibliothèque comprenant imprimés, manuscrits, estampes, etc., relatifs à l'histoire du Canada et des pays adjacents, ajoutés à la Collection Gagnon depuis 1895 à 1909 inclusivement, d'après les notes bibliographiques et le catalogue de l'auteur*. Montreal. 1913. Pp. xiv, 462.

logue of these additions up to the time when the collection passed to its new owner. There are a goodly number of rare books and pamphlets in this second volume. The most conspicuous examples are mentioned in the preface by Mr. Morin, such as LeClerc's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy*, Boucher's *Histoire Véritable*, a catechism printed at Quebec in 1765, which is said to have been the first book printed in Canada and of which only three copies are known to exist. To these we might add the *Narrative of Ethan Allen's Captivity*, published at Walpole, New Hampshire, in 1807, an *Almanach* published at Montreal in 1778, which Mr. Gagnon in a note says was the first almanac printed in Canada, D'Arcy Boulton's *Sketch of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada* (1805), Bouquet's *Relation historique de l'expédition contre les Indiens d'Ohio* (1769), *The Canadian Inspector, No. 1* (1815), which was put forth as a defence of Prevost's conduct during the war of 1812, Carver's *Travels* (3rd edition, 1781), the French translation of Hearne's *Journey* (Paris, an VII), Vancouver's *Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean* (1801), Richardson's *Wacousta* (1833), and others. The indispensable complement of the two volumes, an analytical index volume, is announced for publication by Mr. Villeneuve, the librarian of the Municipal Library.

*A Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers relating to the Dominions** has been published with the aid of the Beit Fund at the disposal of Oxford University, and of a private contribution from Professor Egerton, who thus lays historical students under a new obligation. The introduction by Mr. Austin Smyth, librarian of the House of Commons, treats of the origin and history of parliamentary papers, and of their publication. The *Guide* itself deals with parliamentary papers relating to Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, emigration and colonization. Of these pages 3-35, dealing with Canada, pages 35-39, dealing with Newfoundland, and pages 149-173, dealing

**Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Dominions, 1812-1911.* Prepared by Margaret I. Adam, John Ewing and James Munro. London: Oliver and Boyd. 1913. Pp. x, 190.

with emigration, colonization and miscellaneous subjects, will be of special interest to Canadian readers. The *Guide* will be most useful to all searchers in large libraries, and will save them many hours of work. For the ordinary student it is of less value, for while some attempt is made to calendar briefly a few of the more important or the less known state papers, the references to most of them occupy only two or three lines, and give no real information as to their contents. To have made anything like an adequate calendar would, however, have occupied so much space that the enterprise would be out of the reach of the private publisher, though it may be commended to the Canadian Archives Commission or to His Majesty's Stationery Office. The index is satisfactory.

The *Report* of Dr. Doughty, the Archivist, for 1913* shows that many documents and maps have been added to the collection. It includes some valuable calendars of papers and texts of documents. Those interested in the government of the Maritime Provinces will find useful material in the lists of Acts or Ordinances respecting these provinces in the last half of the 18th century. Dr. Doughty prints the text of the British Ordinances made for the civil government of the province of Quebec to 1767. They throw much light on the social conditions of the time. A long memorandum by the Hon. Toussaint Pothier, written in 1829, sketches political conditions in the province and the causes of disorder. The calendar of letters in the Neilson collection, covering the period from 1801 to 1824, is also important as showing the deeper causes of the later rebellion. There is a continuation of the Calendars of Correspondence from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs relating to the United States in 1780-81. The Correspondence and Journals of Charles Inglis and John Inglis, first and third bishops of Nova Scotia, are also continued. The report thus covers much important material. It is to be regretted that it is

**Report of the Work of the Public Archives for the Year 1913.* By Arthur G. Doughty. Ottawa. 1914. Pp. 304.

not printed and bound in better style. An unchanged heading is continued throughout the volume. In the Table of Contents no pages are given for the separate headings, and it is difficult to find one's way in the book. Many improvements have been made in the work of the Archives in recent years, and it is not too much to hope that the form of the reports will also improve. They are too valuable to be treated as ordinary blue books.

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